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For Lai Tung
with love from

Fritto Sagan

July 3rd 1947.

THE CHALLENGE OF BACKWARDNESS

*Some notes and papers on
Tribal and Depressed Classes
policy, with special reference
to Hyderabad State*

BY

W. V. GRIGSON, C.S.I.,
Indian Civil Service,
REVENUE MINISTER,
Government of Hyderabad,
(1942-7).



Do not trick us into decay
In the old days
The Gond Raja
The Gond landlord
Remitted our taxes
Let us graze our cattle free
But to-day
The Hindu landlord
The Hindu merchant
Taxes twice as much
And snares us with sweet words.

The Inspector
What a good thing he is transferred
For a pice
He took fowls and eggs
And who could buy cloth in the bazaar
But the Inspector ?

From Folk Songs of Chhattisgarh
(Verrier Elwin, Oxford University Press,
Indian Branch, 1946),
nos. 295 and 297.

To My Wife



[Photo by Raja Deen Dayal.]

A BHIL COUPLE
AURANGABAD DISTRICT

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PREFACE.

For seven out of nearly twenty-seven years in India I have had the happiness of serving Hyderabad, since 1942 as the Member or Minister of His Exalted Highness' Government in charge, among other portfolios, of Revenue, which has included always measures for the amelioration of the Aboriginal Tribes, and latterly also of the Depressed Classes. Since 1926 lent British officers have held this portfolio, first Sir Richard Trench, C.I.E., then Sir Theodore Tasker, C.I.E., O.B.E. (in whose absence on furlough Sir Richard Crofton, C.I.E., acted as Member), and lastly myself.¹ My term of office will soon be over, and as a probable consequence of the impending departure from India of the British members of the Indian services there may shortly be no high executive posts in Hyderabad held by British officers. Already in my time the Revenue Minister has for the first time for many years ceased to be the Pooh-Bah of the Government ; as the work of the various Ministers has been gradually reshuffled in preparation for the new order in India, he has shed various portfolios (supply, police, forests, agriculture and local government), the combination of which in his hands with his remaining portfolios of land revenue, settlement, land records, excise, rural reconstruction and town and regional planning once made him *par excellence* the Minister responsible for almost everything that could help the protection and rehabilitation of the aborigines. Education was never in his portfolio, but it fell to me as the Minister for tribal affairs to sponsor the inauguration through the devoted work of Baron C. von Furer-Haimendorf and his wife of the special tribal educational scheme based on Marlavai in Adilabad District, in which we have been most grateful to the Education Minister and the Department of Public Instruction for the free hand and the keen co-operation given us.

The breaking up of the Revenue Minister's huge former portfolio must mean for tribal policy some loss of co-

^{1.} During my absence on furlough for the last seven months of 1945 Mr. C. A. G. Savidge, M.B.E., I.C.S., acted as Revenue Member.

ordination, perhaps even a revived tussle between such conflicting interests as forest conservancy and tribal colonization. This book therefore, as a swan-song effort to help the backward elements of the people of Hyderabad, ventures to put together for the assistance of future Ministers and secretariat and district officers selections from my tour and tribal policy notes, my other principal papers and articles on the tribal question written since 1938, and a speech made by me on the problems of the Depressed Classes in the April 1947 session of the new Hyderabad Legislative Assembly. It must be admitted that the material on the Depressed Classes is meagre in comparison with that on the tribes, and that in fact the Hyderabad Government have done too little for the former : but until the formation three or four years ago of the Rural Welfare Trust and, more recently, following on Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf's appointment as Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes, the specific inclusion in the revenue portfolio of measures for helping the Depressed Classes as well as the Tribes, I had little direct responsibility for the former, beyond trying to stimulate slum clearance and labour rehousing in towns and cities. As mentioned in my Assembly speech, certain village experiments have been started to help them, and the new Social Service must go on to wider and more effective assistance. It has augured well for their future that their newly nominated representatives in the opening Assembly sessions have shown a real sense of the opportunities which the reformed legislature offers to all who have at heart the higher interests of their community as a vital and contributing component of the whole body politic.

In contrast the Hyderabad aborigines are far less able to stand on their own feet and have no nominated or other representatives in the Assembly ; it was largely for this reason that the new Constitution excluded matters affecting the administration of tribal areas from the purview of the Assembly. But this exclusion cannot be permanent : the aboriginal must ultimately make his own distinctive contribution to the political and general life of the State, and it has been the aim of the forward policy of the last few years to hasten the progress towards this goal. The time has now come to associate tribal leaders with not only the execution but also the initiation of tribal policy ; this point is stressed in the extracts from the 1946 and 1947

Adilabad tour notes printed in Chapter III.¹ Some of the most lasting and effective village experiments in India have been evolved by patient social workers from suggestions timidly made by the villagers themselves : the members of the new Social Service will do well to bear this constantly in mind and to avoid the mere forcing on tribal or other villages of their own preconceived ideas or the panaceas of town-bred politicians. When intelligent aboriginal members of advisory or executive boards are themselves shaping, improving and helping to carry out tribal policy, then alone can we be confident that there will be no regression.

The policy has its critics. Some Muslims have recently even raised the cry of danger to the forest wealth of the State as an argument against Government restricting to aborigines the grant of *patta* rights in the lands excised from poor miscellaneous forests in the tribal areas, which many local Muslims and other non-aboriginals had coveted for themselves : to be fair, however, to the sincerer critics, they have wanted the poorer local Muslims to have an equal right to some of the lands thus made available for cultivation. But this attitude overlooks the inescapable fact that the poorest and most ignorant non-aboriginal is far more advanced than the aboriginal and, once planted in a tribal area, sooner or later exploits or expropriates the tribal cultivator. Considering, moreover, the truest interests of the Muslims of Hyderabad, it is short-sighted to criticize a policy which converts thousands of villagers, who, till that policy was inaugurated, associated revenue and judicial peons, forest-guards and constables (all mostly Muslim) with every form of petty corruption and oppression, from sullen potential rebels into loyal subjects of His Exalted Highness freely and cheerfully co-operating with his officers. On the principle also of extending to backward non-aboriginals the benefits of the lessons learnt from experimental schemes in tribal areas, the Government have already initiated a scheme for helping the backward Multani Muslims of parts of Adilabad District; and intend to carry out other similar schemes elsewhere.

The pages which follow indicate both some general considerations which should govern policy and what has been done or attempted in these Dominions in the past

¹. See pp. 41 and 47 below.

few years. The principal steps now to be taken are in my view the following : the completion of the allocation of land in tribal Adilabad to landless aborigines and of the pushing back of forest boundaries which are too close to village-sites ; the execution of a similar policy in the tribal areas of Karimnagar and Warangal Districts ; the extension of the Marlavai tribal education scheme to all tribal areas ; the notification of tribal areas under section 1 (2) and the framing of rules and regulations under section 4 of the new Tribal Areas Dastur-ul-Amal¹ ; the effective organization of medical and public health services, with special determination to stamp out yaws ; the careful fostering of co-operative institutions, particularly village grain-banks, multi-purpose societies and forest co-operatives ; the improvement of agriculture ; the abolition of hereditary non-tribal village officers ; and the formation of Dominions, Subah and District Tribal Advisory Committees. For the betterment of the conditions of the Depressed Classes similar committee, are needed from the outset, but for general guidance in framing bold measures for removing the social and economic disabilities of these classes, especially for stamping out all forms of forced labour, the State will look to the coming Royal Commission. Steady and patient formulation and execution of such programmes will hasten the time when village singers will no longer compose songs as bitter as the two printed on the reverse of the title-page from Verrier Elwin's *Folk Songs of Chhattisgarh*.

It remains only to thank Mr. Panchappakisan and Mr. Satyanarain, my stenotypists, for the rapid and accurate typing of the manuscript ; Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, H.C.S., the Director of the Government Central Press and his staff for the quick production of this book at very short notice ; and to the following publishers and others for permission to reprint the matter shown against their names :-

Dr. Verrier Elwin and the Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, the two songs from *Folk Songs of Chhattisgarh* on the reverse of the title-page ;

The Oxford University Press (Indian Branch), my foreword (somewhat revised) to Verrier Elwin's *Maria Murder and Suicide*, which forms Chapter II ; and

1. See Appendix, pp. 110-5

The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain
and Ireland, my paper *The Aboriginal in the Future
India*, which forms Chapter VII.

W. V. GRIGSON.

HOPE PARK,

KOTAGIRI,

Nilgiri Hills,

May 26th 1947.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF HYDERABAD.¹

The Nizam's Deccan remains one of the greatest blanks on the ethnographic map of India ; the literature about its peoples is small and little known. The late Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan conducted a partial ethnographic survey in the second decade of this century, but neither he nor his staff had had any anthropological training, and he himself was severely handicapped by failing sight. Only the first volume of the results was published.² While this contains much of value and interest, it is based too little on original investigation, and too much on the previously published ethnographies of Bombay and Central Provinces and unchecked local information. Then there are past Census Reports. As in the provinces, so in Hyderabad State the interest taken in ethnic problems by successive Census Superintendents has varied enormously. Useful information is given in the State Census Reports of 1911, 1921, and 1931, particularly the glossary of castes and tribes at pp. 237-263 of Chapter XI of the 1921 Report and Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan's description of the Chenchu tribe in pp. 260-276 of the 1931 Report. The census literature as a whole, however, is as inaccurate as Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan's unfinished work, nor have successive Census Reports been consistent either in their descriptive accounts of tribes and castes, or even in the recorded figures and nomenclature of the tribes. The Hyderabad volume is one of the least satisfactory volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer series and is particularly ill-informed on ethnography. There are no descriptive Gazetteers of the districts of the State (except the good Aurangabad Gazetteer of 1884, which gives interesting short accounts of the castes and tribes of that district), so that in Hyderabad neither census worker nor ethnologist can start his enquiries from those detailed summaries of previous knowledge of the ethnography of the districts on which he is working which are a general feature of the district gazetteers of the Provinces of India and of

1. This Chapter is a partial revision, with some omissions, of my foreword to *The Chenchus, Jungle Folk of the Deccan*, by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (London, Macmillan, 1943).

2. *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1920.

several States. Many a Hyderabad official, if asked to what caste a villager belongs, will answer that he is a Hindu, one Hindu being to him the same as another ; if he goes so far as to distinguish primitives or aborigines from Hindus he uses of them the generic term "Bhil" or "Gond-o-Bhil." This ignorance of or indifference to the distinctions between the different sections of his fellow-subjects is due to the urban outlook of the average Hyderabad official, who has almost always been born and bred in the capital or one of the few large towns. This ignorance tends also to blind him to the suffering and the loss of land and of economic freedom that result in the backward areas when Hindu, Rohilla or Arab cultivators, contractors, traders and money-lenders are allowed freely to exploit the aborigines. In such records therefore as can be traced of dealings between the governing classes of Hyderabad and the aboriginal and backward tribes little will be found of deliberate oppression or of positive policy. *Laissez faire* has been the governing principle, but as everywhere in India, and not least in Hyderabad, *laissez faire* more than anything else has ruined the aboriginal and turned him into a landless drudge and serf.

What aboriginal tribes are found in the Nizam's Dominions ? As we have seen, the literature is scanty and inconsistent. Administrative records, whether of special steps taken, or of the establishment of Hyderabad rule in such areas as the Gond country in the north-east of Adilabad District on its transfer from Bhonsla rule in 1803, are difficult to trace, though some may exist among the old Persian documents in the various *Daftars* of the State or of former Ministers. Of two tribes which are the subject of later monographs in this series, one, the Hill Reddi, is not mentioned in Hyderabad Census Reports or other official records, and the other, the Kolam,¹ if at all referred to, is briefly and wrongly dismissed as a Gond sub-tribe. There is no clear identification (very little mention even) in any literature of the Naikpod², a tribe which is fairly numerous in Adilabad, Karimnagar, and Warangal Districts and includes sections very primitive in type and culture and addicted like the Kolam to shifting hoe-cultivation. In a recent tour of the Both and Kinwat Taluqs of Adilabad the Haimendorfs have discovered a section

1. Since this written, Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf has decided not to publish a separate Book on the Kolam, about whom, however, he has incorporated much information in his forthcoming *The Raj-Gonds of Adilabad*.

2. Imperial Table XIV shows Naikpod as having been included in Gond. No separate figures are given for them, nor can much reliance be placed on the assertion that all Naikpod were enumerated as Gond.

of Naikpod speaking a language of their own, in which they call themselves Kolavar,¹ a name also used of themselves by Kolami-speaking Kolam; this Naikpod language, while somewhat different in vocabulary from Kolami, so far resembles it that Naikpod listeners can to some extent follow Kolami conversation. This, and the fact that Kolam and Naikpod alike practise hoe-cultivation, indicates a hitherto unsuspected cultural and racial relation. Another tribe before the 1941 census recorded in Hyderabad as Gond or confused with the nomadic Pardhi tribe is the well-known Pardhan tribe, the musicians and bards of the Gond, who elsewhere in India have always been accorded a separate identity.

The Andh, regarded in the Central Provinces and Berar as a forest and hill tribe, in Hyderabad literature are sometimes placed also in that category, but more often described as a caste of hinduized cultivators and land-owners. In western Adilabad the Andh are certainly fairly recent immigrants, very hinduized, and like other Hindus have helped to dispossess Gond cultivators. But I have seen Andh in the forest tracts of the adjacent Nander District who, though less advanced than the hinduized Andh of Berar and less primitive than most Hyderabad aborigines, nevertheless definitely are a forest tribe: in his book *Sport in the Deccan* Brigadier-General Burton wrote not many years ago of expert tracking by Andh *shikaris* in Nander forests, an indication that not all Andh have as yet lost that primitive skill which remains the hall-mark of the forest tribe.

In Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar² the Koli continue to be regarded as an aboriginal tribe. Old Marathi documents commonly used the words "Nahal, Bhil and Koli" as a generic term for hill-robbers. Bilgrami and Willmott³ speak of Koli as probably "a mongrel race sprung from alliances formed between Hindus and aboriginal tribes." The Aurangabad Gazetteer⁴ of 1884 describes the 6,718 Koli then in Aurangabad District as "aborigines" "of low but respectable caste" who were "divided into the Kolis of the hilly countries and the Kolis of the plains." The caste index in Part III of the State Census Report of 1891

1. The name of Kolavar at once strikes one by its close similarity to Korava or Koraver, names used of the Erakala tribe recorded below as 45,771 strong in Hyderabad State. See article Koracha at pp. 583-619, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III.

2. See Russel and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 533.

3. *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions (Bombay, 1883)* Vol. I, pp. 309-10.

4. At p. 280.

describes the Koli as graziers, 270,208 in number, with 131 named sub-castes,¹ and appears to identify them with the totally distinct Kohli agricultural caste. They are not mentioned in the Hyderabad volume of the Imperial Gazetteer. The Census Reports of 1901 and 1911 gave their numbers as 236,884 and 266,840 respectively. Siraj-ul-Hassan in his article on the tribe² neither suggests that they are aborigines nor gives their numbers. The 1921 Census Report reduced their numbers to 39,819, while the 1931 Report recorded 52,472 (of whom 31,935 were in Aurangabad, 5,200 in Parbhani and 3,046 in Bir District). No Hyderabad census before 1941 classified them as an aboriginal tribe. This has first been done in the 1941 Imperial Table XIV (Selected Tribes by Districts), which, however, shows their total strength as 237, all from Adilabad District; this is a veritable reduction to absurdity of a tribal caste once shown as more than a quarter of a million strong, and is a glaring example of the vagaries of Hyderabad tribe and caste returns. The 1921 Census Report did actually approach Russell and Hiralal's³ view that the Koli of the Central Provinces are "a primitive tribe akin to the Bhils" by quoting at p. 219 Risley's view that they are a former tribe converted into a caste by the gradual acceptance of Hinduism. In Hyderabad, as in the Central Provinces and in Berar, they are undoubtedly almost fully hinduized except perhaps for a few hill Koli, are economically in a fairly sound position and present practically no "aboriginal" or administrative problem.⁴

These census vagaries are again exemplified by the figures of Gond and Koya, the two largest aboriginal communities in the Nizam's Dominions. The Koya are a teluguized tribe of Gond or of Maria Gond and speak a fundamentally Gondi dialect strongly influenced in inflexion and vocabulary by Telugu; but they retain for themselves the name Koi or Koya, by the plural form (Koitor) of which the Gondi-speaking Gond or Maria or Muria calls himself, wherever he be found and however divergent his customs and culture from the norm of the Satpura plateaux. According to census records the Koya population of the Dominions has varied from 45,300 in 1881 to 60,897 in 1891, 46,714 in 1901, 25,029 in 1921, 33,638 in 1931 and 31,094 in 1941, while the corresponding

1. Many of these seem to be "house-names" of sub-sections of exogamous septs.

2. *Castes and Tribes of the Nizam's Dominions*, pp. 332-8.

3. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, III, p. 532.

4. I therefore omitted Koli from all the recommendations in my Report, *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

figures for Gond other than Koya have been 39,513, 37,995, 55,761, 98,879, 113,280 and 142,046. These figures omit the 1911 census, because in it Koya were not enumerated separately, but included in Gond, the combined total being 124,341. Except for a few scattered Gond in other parts of the State, they are almost confined to the three districts shown in the table below :—

District	Tribe	CENSUS YEARS			
		1911	1921	1931	1941
Karimnagar	Koya ¹	..	..	1,207	1,131
	Gond	..	3,503	..	2,232
	Total	..	3,503	1,207	2,833
Warangal	Koya ¹	..	..	17,593	21,376
	Gond	..	65,143	49,334	52,586
	Total	..	65,143	66,927	89,710
Adilabad	Koya ¹	..	..	5,695	9,858
	Gond	..	54,852	47,945	57,244
	Total	..	54,852	52,740	70,864
Total, all three districts	Koya ¹	..	..	24,495	32,365
	Gond	..	123,498	96,379	109,830
	Total	..	123,498	120,874	141,335
					172,407

According to the censuses Koya have decreased from over 60,000 in 1891 to 31,094 in 1941 in the whole State, while Gond (minus Koya) have in the same period increased from 38,000 to 142,000. But the variations in the figures for these tribes in individual districts are so marked and so indicative of confusion between Koya and other Gond or Koitor that we cannot safely infer a real decline in the numbers of Koya. The Table above begins with 1911, because the districts had not attained their present boundaries till 1905, and no district tribal figures can be traced for 1901. The 1881 census

1. Koya were included in Gond in the 1911 census.

recorded 4,831 Gond and 3,093 Koya in Karimnagar¹ District, 1,132 Gond and 39,990 Koya in Warangal² District and in the Adilabad, Rajura, Sirpur and Asifabad taluqs of the modern Adilabad district (which then made up the old Sirpur-Tandur district) 31,937 Gond and no Koya at all. According to the 1891 census there were no Gond in Karimnagar and Warangal except Koya, and no Koya, but only Gond, in Sirpur-Tandur. In 1905 Adilabad District was formed by adding to Sirpur-Tandur the Lakshattipet and Chinnur taluqs of Karimnagar (which contained probably most of the Gond and Koya previously enumerated in Karimnagar District)³ and those parts of Nirmal, Both and Kinwat Taluqs formerly in Indur District.⁴ These changes of district boundaries make comparision even harder, but the figures in the above table for the censuses taken after the demarcation of the present boundaries both show an apparent switch-over from Koya to Gond since 1921 in Karimnagar, and present the enigma of the source of the Gond (as distinct from Koya) recorded in such large and increasing numbers in 1921, 1931 and 1941 in Warangal District, where a bare 1,132 had been recorded in 1881 and none at all in 1891. If we take Gond and Koya together, there has been a rapid increase interrupted only by the small set-back caused in 1921 by the decimating influenza epidemic of 1918-19. As there is no record of migration of Koya from Warangal to adjacent Madras territory or to Bastar State, and no record of immigration into the district of Gond, it is logical to attribute the fall of nearly 30,000 in Koya since 1891 and some part of the great increase in other Gond either to errors of enumeration and classification or to a move among the Koya tribesmen to adopt the fashionable and hinduized name Gond.

To the question already posed, what are the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad, we still get only a partial and unscientific answer even from the 1941 census. There Imperial Table XIII puts the total tribal population of the State at 678,149 or about 42 per mille. But in this aggregate no fewer than 404,614 were Banjara⁵. Leaving this great tribe for the present out of account, since it cannot be regarded as "abor-

1. Then known as Elgandal district.

2. Then known as Khammamet district.

3. There are still 100 or 200 Gond on the south bank of the Godavari in the Jagtial taluq of Karimnagar.

4. Indur is now Nizamabad.

5. Including Lambara, Labhani and Mathula, but not the completely settled and hinduized agriculturist section generally referred to as Wanjari.

iginal," though undoubtedly backward, tribally organized, and retaining strong nomadic tendencies and even practices, the table records as tribes and as the 1941 strength of each tribe Gond (142,026), Erakala or Yerukala (45,771, including 4,456 Korvi or Korwa), Koya (31,094), Andh (19,313), Bhil (18,021), Pardhi (4,805), Gowari (4,036), Chenchu (3,865), Hill Reddi (1,834), Pardhan (1,583), Kolam (746) and Koli (251). The census staff learnt too late of the clear distinction between Pardhan, the bards of the Gond, and Gond proper, completely to avoid the old practice of treating the former as a branch of the latter, and therefore Pardhan¹ must be rather more numerous than 1,583. The order separately to enumerate Kolam also came too late, as already too many enumerators had followed the old Hyderabad practice of treating Kolam as a Gond sub-tribe. Probably between 2,000 and 3,000 Kolam have been included in Gond. If Mannevarlu, who appear to be teluguized Kolam, could also be accurately recorded, the Kolam numbers might rise to 5,000 or more; there are also in western Adilabad many detribalized Kolam who have lost their Kolami language and speak Marathi. In the bordering Berar district of Yeotmal, there were in 1941 nearly 30,000 Kolam, of whom almost all spoke Kolami; this language, entirely distinct from Gondi, is not recorded separately in Hyderabad language tables, but included in Gondi, which is recorded in 1941 as spoken by 141,686 persons² out of a Gond, Koya, Pardhan, Gowari and Kolam population of 179,485.³ All the Gowari but 45 were returned from Karimnagar District; probably they represent graziers of Gond and Koya affinities.

The best account perhaps of the Erakala or Yerukala, alias Korvi or Korwa, will be found in the article Koracha in Anantakrishna Iyer's *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 583-619. He describes them as "a tribe of hunters, fortune-tellers, cattle-breeders, carriers, basket-makers and thieves," found all over Mysore, the Madras Districts of South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichopoly and Coimbatore, the Bombay Districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar, and the Deccan States. They speak Tamil, Telugu or Kanarese according to the locality in which they live, but among themselves

1. In previous censuses they were often confused with Pardhi.

2. This includes all speakers of the Koya dialect, not enumerated separately in the Hyderabad Census.

3. As another curious example of the vagaries of successive censuses, the 1931 census recorded only 76,087 Gondi-speakers, out of 146,918 persons recorded as Gond and Koya; Gowari, Pardhan and Kolam were then probably all enumerated as Gond.

" speak a corrupt polyglot in which the words derived from different languages bear little resemblance." Iyer speaks of them as one of the aboriginal tribes of the south in the process of hinduization and mentions Oppert's view that they must have been of the same stock as the Vedans (*sic*) of Ceylon, and the Abbé Dubois' comparison of them to the Gypsies of Europe. In Hyderabad State they have not been studied. They occur in every district, though rarely in the Marathi districts, and are most numerous in the Telugu districts, especially Warangal (8,397), Nalgonda (8,383), Mahbubnagar (8,178), Karimnagar (6,040) and Medak (4,930). In 1941 43,911 persons were returned as speaking the Erakala or Kaikadi language, against a total Erakala population of 45,771 ; presumably this "language" is the polyglot mixture referred to above. Eickstedt in Chapter I contributed by him to Vol. I of *The Mysore Tribes and Castes* classified the Mysore Koracha (Korava) as largely of "Melanid" blood, "though this wandering tribe, as is to be expected in view of their customs, have always comparatively quickly adapted themselves to their somatic surroundings";¹ for him the "Malid" sub-race of the "Weddid" group and his "Melanid group" are the dark-skinned descendants of the former "Indo-Negrids."² The Pardhi are a similar nomadic semi-criminal semi-hunting tribe, commonest in Hyderabad City and in the northern districts.

Of the 18,021 Bhil in 1941, 16,106 were recorded from Aurangabad and 815 from Bir District. These Bhil are of course a fraction only of the great Bhil tribe of Rajputana, Western Central India, Nimar and Khandesh, and do not seem to be concentrated in particular localities even in Aurangabad. This is natural. Historically they were the village watchmen or *jaglias* of the passes leading from the Deccan into the plains of Khandesh and Berar, so that naturally there were no concentrations in entirely Bhil villages, but only a few Bhil houses in each Hindu village. The cruel opposition to which the Maratha Government subjected them in the anarchy that followed the death of Aurangzeb and the break-up of his empire turned them into wild and plundering outlaws who for long were the scourge of the Khandesh and Western Berar plains. The Hyderabad Residency contains many records of the steps taken to stop their lawlessness ; even after comparative order had been restored in Khandesh and Ahmad-

1. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, I, p. 70.

2. *Ibidem*, pp. 38-9.

nagar by the British Bhil Agents (Outram, Ovans and others), for many years the unsettled Bhil of the plateaux¹ above the Ajanta Hills and their western extensions continued to raid the settled villages of the plains until the Nizam's Government substantially adopted the Bombay plans of conciliation, confirmation by written engagements of the Bhil watchmen's right to collect a village cess as remuneration, and enlistment of local Bhil in a Hill Rangers Company of the Hyderabad Contingent, similar to the famous Bhil Corps of Khandesh. The description of the Bhil of Aurangabad given by Bilgrami and Willmott,² and reproduced below is the best summary of their past history and probably remains substantially true of their present state, save in so far as they have been since more and more hinduized :—

‘ When the Moghuls invaded Khandesh and the Dekhan in the beginning of the 17th Century, they found the Bhils hard working and loyal subjects, and under the Moghuls they continued quiet and orderly. When, however, the Mahrattas rose to power they could not keep the Bhils in suppression. They were treated as outlaws and flogged and hanged for the slightest offence. ‘ Exposed to the sun with his nose slit and his ears stripped from his head, the Bhil was burnt to death on the heated gun or in the embraces of the red-hot iron chair.’ From a high cliff near Antur, a hill fort in the Aurangabad District, hundreds were yearly hurled to destruction. After the subjugation of the Mahrattas by the British kind measures and fair dealing were employed to bring them to order. From 1818 until their final quiescence in 1827 the Bhils were the cause of much trouble. Those in the Ajanta hills raided into Khandesh, and sacked villages and carried off or murdered their chief inhabitants. Vigorous measures were taken against them by the British Government, but it was found that a conciliatory policy was best in the end. Under Outram Bhil agencies were established, one of which was at Kanad³ and others in the Ajanta hills which form the boundary between His Highness's Dominions and the province of Khandesh. Since that period, with the exception

1. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 322-5.

2. *The Aurangabad Gazetteer* of 1884 gives further details of former Maratha oppressions, including a treacherous wholesale massacre by Maratha officials of Bhil guests at Kannar.

3. *I. e.* Kannar.

of a partial outbreak during the Mutiny, the Bhils have given but little trouble. As in the British province (Khandesh) below the hills, many of the Bhils have taken to agriculture and other peaceful callings, but they are usually very poor. Thriftless, fond of spirits and loathing steady work, the Bhil is simple, faithful and honest. The women in former times went to battle, sometimes using slings with great effect, and have much influence over the men. The Bhils are fond of amusement and excitement, hunting and fishing, playing games of chance, telling stories, singing to the accompaniment of the six-stringed fiddle, and dancing. Their principal musical instruments are the drum, bag-pipes and the fiddle just mentioned. They have no temples and only erect sheds over their most sacred images."

After the restoration of order following the Mutiny, the Hyderabad Bhil passed into obscurity and, on the whole, neglect. Some effort was however made to educate them by the Police Department, so as to wean them from surviving criminal tendencies. Between 1902 and 1907 the police started six Bhil schools in Aurangabad District and a Bhil industrial school in Bir, the last under private management supported by grants-in-aid, but working in direct liaison with the police : the six village schools cost only Rs. 804 annually, while annual scholarships worth Rs. 540 were paid to Bhil boys at the Bir school from Local Funds. In 1907 there were 153 Bhil boys in the Bir school and 162 in the Aurangabad village schools, and the Director-General of Police claimed that the schools had exercised a beneficial civilising influence and led to a perceptible decrease of crime ; five Bhil pupils had been enlisted in the police. Unfortunately in 1909 these special schools were transferred to the regular Education Department without any arrangement being made to provide funds, and while this was under protracted correspondence " salaries were discontinued and teachers and schools seem to have vanished."¹ So died the only positive step taken in the Hyderabad State for aboriginal welfare between 1838 and 1938.²

1. *Report on Education in H.H. the Nizam's Dominions and Proposals for its Reorganization*, by Arthur Mayhew, I.E.S., Educational Adviser to the Nizam's Government (Hyderabad, 1911), pp. 258-260.

2. A completely forgotten Persian Circular (No. 27 of 1291 F. or 1882 A.D.) was issued by the Revenue Department drawing attention to the work done by the Central Provinces Administration to settle nomadic aborigines in Mandla and Balaghat Districts, and directing similar efforts to be made in the unoccupied lands of Hyderabad State.

Let us return briefly to the Banjara tribe. This tribe must not be regarded as aboriginal, in view of its undoubtedly Rajputana origin, but has clearly been influenced by aboriginal contacts in the long centuries during which, in peace and war alike, it was the principal carrier of goods between northern and southern India. It is recorded that in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces Gond and Korku aborigines used in the carrying days to be admitted into the Banjara community, and there is little doubt that this admission of members of local tribes into the community was far more extensive than would be confessed by the modern Banjara with his practice of limiting such admission to the higher Hindu castes, and that only after a probation of three generations ;¹ in the Deccan the average crowd of Banjara men and women will reveal faces recalling almost all the racial types that would be met on a journey from Rajputana across Central India, the Central Provinces, the Nizam's Dominions and Mysore to Madras, except the darkest Malid and Melanid. Eickstedt² draws attention to Gondid elements alongside Indid and Orientalid strains in this "exceptionally hybrid people" and laments the absence of any authoritative survey of the extent and manner of these intermixtures. A detailed study of the modern Banjara is long overdue; let us hope that someone will be found to undertake this in the Deccan, than which no better field for such work could be found. In Hyderabad the tribe is rapidly becoming a settled community, primarily of cattle-breeders and to an increasing extent of agriculturists, though the original profession of carrier even now is not dead. As a corollary of the fact that the tribe immigrated originally into the Deccan from Northern India, and has had to find new occupations as modern transport and communications gradually deprived bullock-carriers of their traditional means of livelihood, the Banjara has, after a period in which he was regarded as a wandering criminal, naturally become pasturage-hungry and land-hungry and so, in the undeveloped tracts of Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal, an exploiter and expropriater of the aboriginal. In Berar the Government extends to the Banjara in the Melghat the same protection from land alienation as the Gond, the Korku and the Nahal, but such a policy would be wrong in Adilabad, where the Banjara (especially the Mathura section) is steadily dispossessing the Gond and the Kolam of their lands.

1. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, II, pp. 177-9.

2. *Ibid.*, I., p. 67.

In ethnological work in India a natural tendency has been to single out for the first detailed studies the most primitive tribes. This is inevitable ; many such tribes are greatly reduced in numbers and in the power of retaining their ancient ways in the face of modern contacts with civilised neighbours, and there is little time left for science to record the ancient ways before their final obliteration. Therefore in the first two volumes of his series of books on the Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad, which Messrs. Macmillan & Co. are publishing for the Government of Hyderabad, Baron Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf has concentrated on two numerically small communities, the Chenchu and the Hill Reddi. In his later book on the Adilabad Gond, of which the first volume is now in the press, he will be giving us a full-size study of a still vital branch of one of the most important tribes of India which, though increasingly responsive to modern stimuli, remains so numerous and so conscious of its own culture and traditions as to be able, if helped by a wise administrative policy, to make its own contribution to India's future. In its essentials the Gond problem is the same in Hyderabad as the aboriginal problem in the Central Provinces or other parts of India, though more acute because of the greater neglect and the lower district administrative standards of the past, which have left the Hyderabad aborigines entirely at the mercy of the exploiter, whether the land-hungry Kunbi and Kapu, the Arab or Pathan Shylock, the Hindu money-lender, the forest or excise contractor, the Poor Muslim¹ or the unscrupulous official. We have to restore and foster the aboriginal's self-respect by protecting him from loss of land, bond-service, debt and oppression, to shield him from malaria, yaws and other sickness, to teach him an agriculture and an economic organisation suited to his habitat and mentality, and to educate him not merely to retain and value his own tribal culture but also to take and hold his due place in the economic, political and cultural life of modern India. The contribution to the solution of the problem that a study even of so small a tribe as the Chenchu can make will be clear to the readers of Part VIII of *The Chenchus*, especially the accounts of the wretched detribalized Chenchu of the lower Amrabad plateau and the Dindi valley, and of the results of the Chenchu "uplift" policy followed by the Madras Government. Baron C. Von Furer-Haimendorf has also in all his travels among the Hyderabad aborigines supplemented his scientific work by a series of tour-diaries and notes on

1. Coining a term on the analogy of the Poor White of South Africa,

administrative problems which have been of the greatest help to Government and its officers in the rectification of mistakes and grievances, and the gradual formulation of a new policy.

When this chapter was originally written as a foreword to *The Chenchus*, the Baron was not expected to be able to stay long enough in Hyderabad to be able to do more than explore the problems of the Gond and the Kolam and their culture-contacts with their Muslim, Telugu and Marathi neighbours, as he had already investigated the life of the Chenchu and the Hill Reddi. His coming two-volume study of the Raj-Gond of Adilabad (which contains also much information about the Kolam and the Naikpod) may perchance conclude his specialised accounts of individual tribes in the Telingana districts : he returned to Hyderabad in 1945 on a five years' appointment as Adviser on Tribes and Backward Classes and Osmania University Professor of Anthropology, and his new duties will give him little time for field-work or even a general account of the remaining tribes of Hyderabad. There will thus remain wide fields for further research in the State. A detailed study of the Koya of Warangal and Karimnagar Districts is needed. The Kanarese-contact areas of south-west Hyderabad in the Krishna basin and the western hills call out for examination, especially of the Bedar and of the fishing and hunting castes along the Krishna and Tungabhadra valleys. The Marathi Districts of Parbhani, Nander, Aurangabad and Bir, besides being the home of the Bhil and the Andh, are of special interest as the area where Marathi culture shades off into Kanarese and Telugu, and where perhaps Maratha villages may show most strongly the tribal and pre-Aryan elements underlying Maratha caste organisation. Above all, village life remains less modernised in most parts of Hyderabad than in British India, and offers much scope for a combination of anthropology and sociology : a synthetical study of the entire life of a Hyderabad taluk would be a useful corrective to the impression of isolation and individualism sometimes created by detailed analyses of single small tribes. For the census selection of what should be classed as "tribes" is eclectic and unscientific : in the Deccan 'tribe' rather than 'caste' would still be a truer term for the Bedar¹ hunting, warrior and agricultural tribe of Gulbarga and Raichur, the Besta, Dhimar and other fishing tribes, the Golla, Dhimar, Gowari, Kuruba and other

1. Bedar, Bendar, Beda or Berad.

pastoral peoples, and the great Waddar¹ and Uppara nomadic navy communities. The Waddar through the centuries has provided skilled navvy-labour on tanks and other public works all over southern India and to this day is the backbone of the Nizam's Public Works Department ; has he no store of legend and lore about the labours of his ancestors, no traditions about his age-old wanderings in search of work ? Like the Banjara he too has recruited men and women from other communities. The Bedar were " originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting "² and remain tribal in many of their ways. Eickstedt³ regards them as " a colonising remnant of the ancillary troops of jungle people who were employed in the struggles of the Chalukyas and Gangas and later by the Muhammadan Sultans," and sees in them Gondid traits combined with a strong admixture of the traits of the original inhabitants. He notes also abundant Gondid elements in the Waddar and Uppara, as in the Banjara. All his suggestions as to the racial origin of similar nomadic pastoral and hunting peoples in Mysore need testing on their Hyderabad fellow-tribesmen.

1. Vodda or Vodder in *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*.

2. *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, II, p. 198.

3. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 66-7.

CHAPTER II.

ABORIGINAL CRIME.¹

Verrier Elwin's name is known for his work for the aboriginal of middle India to all who are concerned with India's duty towards her oldest inhabitants, the men of the malaria-belt, the forests and the hills. To his social and philanthropic work he has now added sympathetic and revealing anthropological work of the first order, recording, while there is yet time to do so, the still distinctive ways of life and culture of many sections of India's twenty-five and a half million tribal population. His researches are providing a scientific basis not merely for social work among the tribes, but above all for the great and complex task of administering the tribal areas in the tribesman's interests. The programme of any wise administration for these areas should be not only to enable the tribesman to hold his own in the world without losing his way of life, his virtues, his dancing, his songs and his laughter, but also, once he has been secured freedom from fear, from want, and from interference, to make his own special contribution to the free India that is to be. That contribution may well be a restoration to the drab village life of the plains of freedom from the puritan and the kill-joy, and the revival of what Mr. Elwin in his pamphlet *The Aboriginals*² has referred to as the 'art of recreation, an art which is lamentably absent from the ordinary Indian village.' That pamphlet is commended to all who desire to get a clear and sane picture of the whole tribal problem; it states both the creed of one of the finest and best-equipped minds now at work upon the problem, and the case for the scientific approach to it.

To one who has served in Bastar State it must always be a pleasure to read or write anything that will carry his mind back to that beautiful land and its peoples or contribute to the greater understanding of them. 'Pleasure' may seem in-

1. This chapter reproduces with slight verbal changes and a few excisions my foreword to *Maria Murder and Suicide*, by Verrier Elwin (Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1943).

2. Oxford Pamphlets on India Affairs No. 14 (Bombay, 1943).

appropriate of a book whose title contains the words 'murder' and 'suicide': but it is the fundamental purpose of the book that should be borne in mind, its desire to reveal the psychology underlying the 'crimes' of violence committed by one of the finest and least spoiled of Indian tribes, and the circumstances that drive its men and women to suicide. Such work can only lead to a wiser handling of the aboriginal accused by the judge or magistrate; and it raises acutely the question of punishment and the prison treatment of tribal convicts. The opening thirty-six pages of the book moreover give a vivid summary of Maria life, even in so short a compass revealing various facets that escaped me in the field-work and enquiries which preceded the writing of my book *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*.¹ In my preface to that book I expressed the hope that other books would be written about the Maria correcting and supplementing my statements by more systematic field work and that my book would tempt trained workers to visit the ethnologically unexplored lands of Bastar and Jeypore. Mr. Elwin will agree, I think, that it was at my suggestion that he first visited Bastar, where, like many others, he fell a victim to the beauty and interest of that State.

Maria Murder and Suicide is the first-fruits of his Bastar researches. To me the book is of peculiar interest; as Sessions Judge I myself tried twelve² of the hundred cases summarized in the Appendix, and the whole book carries out, independently, an idea which I had long entertained of basing a similar book on the records available for the years 1915 to 1930 of all Bastar sessions trials and other important criminal cases. Until my house was burned down in Hyderabad in March 1946 I still had the notes which I had formerly prepared on some of those cases, including all those dealt with in this book for the years 1920-30 and fourteen others; and I summarized my general experiences of murder in Bastar in page 94-5 and 226 of *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*. To this study of previous records I was led by my realization, after a year's experience of original and appellate work in Bastar, of the great difficulty of applying to the decision of charges against tribal offenders the general practice as to the appreciation of evidence, court procedure, the assessment of guilt and the imposition of penalties laid down in the commentaries

1. Oxford University Press, London, 1938.

2. Nos. 6, 7, 12, 26, 37, 38, 39, 45, 57, 62, 78 and 83; the murder in no. 69 also took place in my time but the trial came after I had left Bastar as the accused has absconded.

on the Evidence Act, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Code, all of which had been imposed on the tribal and other areas of Bastar, as of the whole Central Provinces (in which Bastar State was then included), without any thought that any section in these enactments, framed for sophisticated India on European models, might perhaps not suit every part of India. I should have been saved many moments of anxiety as to the justice of my decisions and as to the whole trend of criminal justice in the State had I had at my command so full a study of murder and suicide as Mr. Elwin's book, which not only analyses so many actual cases but also links up the results with the conclusions of standard works on crime, penology, psychology and ethnology.

I can almost completely endorse Mr. Elwin's analysis of the general causes of Maria murders, though the concept in Chapter XI of fatigue as a cause of crime is one of those things that is startlingly revealing, but has only to be stated to be appreciated as true. Moreover I should perhaps plead guilty to having given currency to what he speaks of (p.42) as 'the myth that *landa* rice-beer is the most important cause of homicide', by writing that 'about half the Bison-horn murders are committed in *landa* intoxication'¹ His figures on page 139 show that only 13 of his 100 murder cases were influenced by *landa* and 6 by other intoxicant liquors. In the further 14 cases of which I still have notes *landa* intoxication caused 2 murders, and other intoxicants 3. In the earlier years of Bastar's political association with the Central Provinces drunkenness was probably an even more frequent cause of crime, or perhaps a symptom rather than a cause, since often *landa* or liquor was taken by persons brooding over grievances, and thinking of violent action. It may be of interest to classify these 14 murders according to Mr. Elwin's categories. Apart from the five intoxication murders, two were prompted by belief that crops had been bewitched, one was a fatigue crime and one was caused by a dispute as to property, one by resentment over being dunned for a debt of one anna, and one by a quarrel over failure to repair the skins of a drum broken by a friend who had borrowed it, while three were the result of conjugal infidelity. There were three cases in which the villagers agreed to conceal the crime to avoid the trouble of police and court investigation. The means employed included assault with an axe, a sword, a fencing pole, a stick, a wooden stool and fists, kicking, thrott-

1. *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, p. 94.

ing, shooting with bow and arrow, twisting of neck and stabbing with a knife. In one case the accused committed suicide to avoid the disgrace attendant on the revival of an old scandal caused by his son's association with a blacksmith girl whose murder he and the villagers had hushed up for three years.

Of witchcraft and magic as factors in crime Mr. Elwin has written fully in his fifth chapter and has illustrated at page 61 a typical clan-god, Anga Pen or Pat Deo (log-god), sometimes used to detect witches in the manner described at page 17, while at pages 185-6 he deals with the Maria view that a witch or a sorcerer should be killed. That view is undoubtedly widely held outside tribal circles, and the power of tribal log-gods to detect black magic is equally strongly believed in by Hindu and Muslim subjects of the State. The reaction of tribal beliefs and practices on the local Hindu rites and ceremonies is very marked, and an example of this is the way in which Raja Bhairon Deo, the great-grandfather of the present Maharaja of Bastar, installed in Jagdalpur a log-god which was either a copy of a famous log-god from Narayanpur in the north-west of the State, or, according to its present Halba *pujari*, was brought by a former ruler from Dongar, the old capital, to Narayanpur, and shifted thence by Raja Bhairon Deo. This god is now the Pat Deo of Bastar *par excellence*, and four ceremonies are held in his honour during the Maharaja's Dasehra celebrations. His witch-finding function strongly survives, and I well remember my amused astonishment when in 1927 during an inspection of the accounts of the Jagdalpur Temples managed by the State Court of Wards I found that the villagers around Jagdalpur frequently requisitioned his services for this purpose, paying for them a fee of Rs. 5 into the State Treasury. When I wondered whether by lending the log-god the Court of Wards had not been accessory to the killing or beating of witches, the *pujari* thus explained the god's conformity to modern law:—

"Pat Deo is worshipped to save men from *bhut* and *pret*, and detects *bhut*, *churel* and witches. If a village needs his detective services, the villagers pay into the Treasury a fee of Rs. 5, and then the Manager lets me take the god out. I walk behind Pat Deo, who is carried on the shoulders of four men, none of whom must come from the village which needs his help. Starting from the east side, we take him round the village widdershins, and then enter the village, Pat Deo himself impelling the bearers and then knocking against the house where the evil is hidden or against the actual magician. He

will not leave the house till the guilty one comes out. Then in these days the offender kneels before Pat Deo and cries for forgiveness, which is given before Pat Deo goes home ; he is not even outcasted now. In my grandfather's time he would have been set on an ass with his face towards the tail and taken in procession around the village ; his head would then have been shaved, his front teeth pulled out by a Ghasia, and his hair and teeth buried in an ant-hill, while he would have been excommunicated and driven out of his village. They pulled out his teeth to stop him using them to suck blood and because without them he could not pronounce his spells." One may be pardoned for scepticism as to the affair even in modern days being closed with Pat Deo kindly forgiving the magician !

This fear of magic as the source of illness and all troubles is strong in many parts of India. Here in Hyderabad belief in the power of *bhanamatti* or black magic is widespread, even among some persons of the highest education and social standing. A detailed investigation was made in 1916 by Mr. L. B. Goad, an experienced officer of the Indian Police, then in charge of the State Criminal Investigation Department. His conclusion was that *bhanamatti* was so absolute a scourge in parts of Hyderabad and so utilized as a form of blackmail by its practitioners that special measures were needed to root them out. The evils which he found to have been inflicted on the victims in a series of cases investigated included loss of consciousness, barking and howling like jackals, appearance of black marks on various parts of the body, giddiness with great abdominal pain, setting of the jaws whilst the victim beat the air and ground with hands and feet, immodest and uncontrollable dancing like a prostitute, ape-like antics, violent laughing and hysteria, clothes dropping off the body, vomiting and spitting out of stones, gravel, marking-nuts, needles, thorns and lemons, food turning into excreta, loss of speech, cessation of menstrual periods or their continuance for weeks and months on end, and many others. His report concluded : " I trust that this report of mine may have the desired effect of proving that the existing state of affairs in those tracts in which *bhanamatti* is prevalent requires special measures to deal with the present evil. If this is not done the populace will take the law into their own hands, as they have done in more than one instance in the recent past, and as they threatened to do when the District Magistrate of Bidar took action in Bidar City with a commendably strong and firm hand last autumn. Having per-

sonally witnessed the dreadful trials which women and girls have to suffer under the scourge of *bhanamatti*. I should not hesitate, did the power lie in my hands, to extend the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act to every cowardly black-guard who was known to practise the vile cult of *bhanamatti*." Even now the Hyderabad District Police retain the services of an official versed in the art of treating the victims of *bhanamatti*. Most of its practitioners are persons of the untouchable castes, but the victims in the 1916 Bidar 'epidemic' of *bhanamatti* included persons of all ranks and professions, even lawyers. Murders of suspected practitioners¹ continue in Hyderabad. Is it to be wondered at that this fear of magic is so common a cause of murder among the Maria? It is after all not so long since in Great Britain an Act of Parliament passed in 1736 finally stopped prosecutions for alleged witchcraft.² Mr. Elwin has pointed out on page 80 that the European superstitions as to crime go far beyond the superstitions of the Maria, and mentions in particular the 'Hand of Glory' ideas: it may be of interest to reproduce an English recipe for making, using and counteracting a Hand of Glory given by Francis Grose in *A Provincial Glossary, with a collection of Local Proverbs and Popular Superstitions*, published in 1787³:—

Take the hand left or right of a person hanged, and exposed on the highway; wrap it up in a piece of a shroud, or winding-sheet, in which let it be well squeezed, to get out any small quantity of blood that may have remained in it; then put it into an earthen vessel, with zimat, saltpetre, salt, and long pepper, the whole well powdered; leave it fifteen days in that vessel; afterwards take it out, and expose it to the noon-tide sun in the dog-days, till it is thoroughly dry; and if the sun is not sufficient, put it into an oven heated with fern and vervain: then compose a kind of candle with the fat of a hanged man, virgin wax, and sisame of Lapland. The Hand of 'Glory is used as a candlestick to hold this candle when lighted. Its properties are, that wheresoever anyone goes with this dreadful instrument, the persons to whom it is presented will be deprived of all power of motion.....

1. Two were reported in *Times of India* of 5th May 1933.

2. A useful brief summary of British witchcraft history and folklore is given in Chapter X of *English Folklore* by Christina Hole (London, 1940).

3. I owe the quotation to my brother Geoffrey Grigson's anthology, *The Romantics* (London, 1942), p. 95.

The Hand of Glory would cease to take effect, and thieves could not make use of it, if the threshold of the door of the house by which they might enter, were anointed with an unguent composed of the gall of a black cat, the fat of a white hen, and the blood of a screech-owl ; which mixture must necessarily be prepared during the dog-days.

Particular attention should be paid to what Mr. Elwin has said in his seventeenth chapter about the aboriginal prisoner. Whether in Bastar, the Central Provinces or in Hyderabad, I have never felt happy over the subjection of the aboriginal convict to ordinary jail life. Seventeen of the persons convicted in the hundred cases of his Appendix are shown as having died in jail, though, as jails in India go, the Jagdalpur jail was always good. Mr. Elwin has summarized the reasons for the Maria's hatred of jail life, and all who have to handle the aboriginal convict should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest his words. I have always thought that Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, which prescribes the penalty for murder, is inadequate, in the case of aborigines, in its recognition of degrees of murder ; transportation for life, i.e., life imprisonment, even as reduced by modern practice as to the periodic review of sentences and earned remission, is an intolerable punishment for the average Maria murderer whose crime is committed in a sudden fit of anger and is unpremeditated. Fortunately in the old days such sessions sentences had to be confirmed by the Political Agent who could also act on the Judge's recommendation to reduce the sentences in the exercise of the royal clemency ; this accounts for the frequent reductions of sentences shown in the Appendix as having been ordered in appeal. Let us hope that the new combined High Court for the Eastern States will take as realistic and humane a view of this as the political officers have done, and in their handling of the aboriginal criminal shed the preconceptions and prejudices of the bar and bench of 'civilized' India. The same approach to the imprisonment of the aboriginal is needed in less heinous cases also, and the principle should be, whenever possible, not to send the aboriginal to jail—at least until there are special jails for aborigines ; too often used the Central Provinces jails to be full of unfortunate aboriginal illicit distillers or smugglers. The Central Provinces courts have now begun to realize the undesirability of jailing aborigines and the need of discretion in inflicting fines proportionate to their slender means ; but few policemen and magistrates realize the social cost to the

released convict or the acquitted prisoner of the *hathkari dand* (handcuff penalty), and the cost of the ceremony for purging him from the defilement of the jail or lock-up described in pages 195-9. I have always regretted that I was never able in Bastar to experiment with the idea that came to me towards the end of my service there, of a village or camp jail, such as is suggested in the concluding chapter of this book, I see nothing impossible in this, nor in letting the aboriginal prisoner have his singing and dancing, observe his festivals and propitiate his gods ; even after a time he might on promotion to a separate personal hut and holding, be allowed the company of his wife. Agriculture and horticulture would be the ideal occupations in such a jail village, for the average aboriginal remains an agricultural novice.

As to the death sentence there is little to add to Mr. Elwin's remarks in Chapter XVIII. Murder and violence were far more frequent in Bastar in the past than they have been since 1910, the Rebellion year, and at one time executions were carried out publicly in *pargana* headquarters for deterrent reasons. This possibly had some effect on the vendetta and the bully. My own practice was to impose the death sentence only in cases of premeditated murder or murder with robbery. The very formidable and steady increase of murders and attempted murders in Hyderabad State ever since the virtual suspension of capital punishment is a warning against removal of the fear of death. And though death may be asked for by occasional Maria in preference to long years of prison, its finality and grimness are realized even by them, and recognized at times as the only appropriate penalty. This happened when I sentenced Marvi Aita of Paknar (Case no. 45) to death. The whole trial was impressive. I held it at Paknar, travelling there in the first motor car to use a newly made forest road and followed by a bus bringing assessors, counsel, accused and police escort ; we were held up in the few villages through which we passed so that the *perma* and elders might sacrifice cocks and sprinkle blood on the car and bus wheels. The accused had been the village bully, and after the trial, which had added drama from taking place on the actual spot where Aita had deliberately shot Kamlu Masa dead with an arrow as he and his helper neighbours were bringing home his *kodon* harvest, when I had pronounced sentence the entire village filed before me to touch my feet in gratitude for freeing them from the perpetual menace of Aita's bullying, and it was then only that I learnt that he had been wrongly acquitted by a former Diwan on a pre-

vious murder charge and had been guilty also of yet another killing which the village had been afraid to report.

In conclusion, *Maria Murder and Suicide* may be warmly recommended to all whose duties bring them into contact with the aboriginal, although it is, so to speak, only a study for the long overdue full-length portrait of law and crime in Tribal India. It should also show the ethnologist how much valuable material there is to be gleaned from the case-records of the Indian courts of law.

CHAPTER III.

ADILABAD DISTRICT.

(a) *November 1938 Tour.*

The more I see of Adilabad District the more I should like to get out a scheme, as suggested in a previous note on the Utnur question, for an area for aboriginal colonization and uplift work. Utnur itself might make a good community centre on the lines of those run by the Y.M.C.A. for the State Government amongst the hill tribes of Travancore.

An application was presented by the Bhois of Waddur, Kupti, Tarnam, Venkatapur, Kuntala *jagir* and Kuntala *khalsa* protesting against the auctioning by the Forest Department of the fishing rights in the Karram river in the area now included in the reserve. Apparently this is the second year of these rights being auctioned, the present lessee being Narayan Reddi of Both, who bid Rs. 60. Narayan Reddi also took the lease last year and in that year he sub-let the fishing to the Pochera Bhoi ; this year so far he has not sub-let the lease to any one, but is trying to demand Rs. 200 from the local Bhoi. Two facts strike one :—

(a) If it is necessary at all to auction the fishing it is bad policy to auction it to a middleman who clearly is making profits which would go to the Forest Department if the Department dealt direct with the Bhoi ;

(b) The Bhoi had a centuries-old prescriptive right to fish free of taxation in the river, and on this depended their livelihood. When the area was declared reserved forest this right should have been enquired into by the Forest Settlement Officer. It is no use pleading that some proclamation or other was issued and that the Bhoi, if they wished to establish their right, should have come forward at the time of the forest settlement enquiry ; no one can have told the Bhoi of this possible consequence of reservation. Clearly therefore we should intervene to protect the Bhoi and restore their former rights. Orders should issue at once to the Divisional Forest Officer, Nirmal, to prevent Narayan Reddi from stopping the Bhoi fishing pending final orders, and the Divisional Forest Officer, to whom a copy of these remarks has

been given at Nirmal, has been asked to report on the position through the Inspector-General of Forests. Instructions should be issued to Forest Settlement Officers to pay particular attention to fishing rights in rivers included in forests under reservation.

I gathered from the Taluqdar of Adilabad that many of the abuses in respect of *begar*, etc., pointed out several years ago by Mr. A. L. Binney, I.C.S., still continue, though somewhat mitigated. The district seems to me an ideal charge for a young and keen man, with its manifold development problems and the great scope for work to improve the conditions of the aboriginal villagers. It is complained that there has been too great a tendency to dump on the district, especially on Adilabad Division, inefficient, dishonest or slack men as a punishment. This is clearly wrong. It is not a district for elderly officers, but for young, keen and active men who are not afraid of constant touring in difficult country. A principal way of helping the aborigines will be in my opinion the tackling of the *watandari* system.

(b) *October 1939 Tour.*

After lunch in Asifabad, Ara, 5 miles from Asifabad, just south of the Pedda Vagu in square C₁ of Ordnance Survey sheet 56 M/SW, was visited. The District Board as a relief measure has improved the tract from Asifabad to Ara, which lies just off the recently surveyed alignment of the proposed Asifabad-Kerimeri-Utnur road. Ara has a population of 557. The persons on the gratuitous relief list, 25 in number, were seen, and some obviously fit to work struck off. This village is full of yaws, though in a *mazra* or hamlet inhabited by Kolam some 2 miles north-west across the Pedda Vagu everyone looked healthy. The Kolam tribe is confined to the Yeotmal, Wardha and Adilabad districts. At Ara they live on the edge of the hills constituting the Ara State forest, cultivating in *qaul* or lease some 70 acres of land recorded in the name of an Arab of Asifabad who was given the land on *patta* 15 or 20 years before. They pay him Rs. 10 per plough of 6 acres, while he pays Government only 8 annas an acre. He never helps them with seed and seems to have changed his *qauldars* at 5 years' intervals. This hamlet had tall crops of *bajra* and *jawari* and good *tilli*. The Kolam cultivators are physically very like Maria Gond, while their language is a Dravidian dialect with resemblances to Gondi, Telugu and Kanarese; the account of them in *Tribes and Castes of the*

Central Provinces speaks also of certain affinities to the Toda dialect. These Ara Kolam are said to be more civilised than the Kolam between Ara and Manikgarh, who are said to live in hamlets on the hill tops and to do only rude patch cultivation with *gudari* hoes.

(c) *September 1943 Tour.*

The aboriginal and administrative problems were discussed with the First Taluqdar and Baron and Baroness C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, whom I brought back with me from Tocham to Adilabad and thence to Begampet. The whole matter is being separately dealt with, as we are now in a position to decide finally on the lines on which the immediate administrative overhaul of the aboriginal taluqs is to be conducted and on the educational and other branches of the problem. The many papers now existing on this subject after careful editing need printing.

At Tocham and again at Adilabad I had several talks with Gond who had come to see the Haimendorfs or me, and expectations of an improvement in their conditions are now so general that delay in implementing the general proposals might have serious consequences. The educational experiment at Marlavai and the surrounding area has aroused great hopes among the Gond, who referred to the rough training school started by the Haimendorfs at Marlavai by means of funds from the 1352 F. budget grant for aboriginal uplift as their "College." Already the demand for training as teachers cannot be met from the financial provision made. There can be no doubt that if this scheme can be further encouraged, it will be possible within a short time to spread a network of 50 or more schools over the Gondi-speaking areas of Adilabad District. For this purpose, the Education Department having readily agreed to the use of Gondi as the medium of instruction in the primary schools, Baron Haimendorf and the principal teacher have compiled admirable Laubach charts for teaching the Gondi language in the Devanagari script, and Gondi primers and readers, for the printing of which arrangements are in train with the Government Press at Hyderabad. Further assistance by way of Rs. 50 or 60 per school and free grants of timber and bamboos will be necessary for village school buildings. Rightly the Haimendorfs insist upon local Gond being trained to be the teachers, since ordinary teachers from the plains would never be happy or ready to remain in these upland jungly villages and

in cultural surroundings so different from those to which they are accustomed. The Government and Adilabad District are most fortunate to have had the free services of this distinguished ethnologist and his wife in starting this educational experiment, which could not succeed without such devoted labour. It will now be necessary for the Educational Department to retain close touch with this work so that it may continue to develop when the services of the Haimendorfs are no longer available.

In conversation with Gond I was told of the illicit activities of the Police Sub-Inspector of Sindkher in Kinwat Taluq, who, after stating falsely that Government had prohibited Gond *dandari* dancing and drumming and the usual Gond participation in the local Gondised version of the Moharram observances, has been making money by threats of prosecution of persons who disregard these imaginary prohibitions. This calls for immediate action. I was told that other police officers also have resorted to this form of oppression in the plains villages between the plateau and the Penganga.

(d) *January 1944 Tour.*

The chief purpose of the tour was to see the Gond Rajas and other leading Gond at the annual *Phersa-pen* Gond *jatra* at Keslapur and to discuss on the spot with the district officers and Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf the general aboriginal problem of the Adilabad District and the continuation during the absence of the Baron and Baroness of the special work begun by them at Marlavai.

On the main aspects of the problem a separate note has been recorded.¹ We can now proceed on these lines to put up proposal to Government and to get the necessary officers posted as soon as possible.

The Keslapur *jatra* was very well attended this year, and even if the local *kharif* crops were not too good, obviously the local Gond have this year money to spend, judging from the crowds at the *jatra* and the good business done by the shopkeepers. Mention must also be made of the roaring trade done in writing petitions by the Gond Raja of Utnur and one or two other leading Gond; the lukewarm attitude of these gentlemen to the Gond education scheme would seem

1. Please see pp. 32-9 below.

not to be uninfluenced by the fear that educated Gond might be able to write petitions and so deprive them of an old source of revenue. An interesting feature of the *jatra* is the cow sacrifice ; it will be necessary, if Government issue any order prohibiting the slaughter of cattle and goats, to make due provision for exempting animals sacrificed in religious ceremonies.

At Utnur the anti-malarial work had been stopped, apparently because of the failure of either the District Board or the Local Government Branch of the Revenue Secretariat to take steps to renew the grant that was made for two years in the first instance. I ordered the work to be revived ; the staff that was employed on it is still available locally, and so are stocks of paris-green, sprayers, etc. It is astonishing that no internal spraying of houses to destroy adult mosquitoes has been undertaken. This would almost certainly be more effective in maintaining the health of the officials and villagers of Utnur than the somewhat haphazard treatment of stagnant pools. The Deputy Secretary, Local Government, should take this up at once with the Public Health Department.

The *kachcha* dispensary building had been vacated for repair ; meanwhile the dispensary is housed in a far better semi-pakka hired building. It would be better not to waste money on the old and thoroughly unsatisfactory *kachcha* dispensary, but to continue to rent this house. I saw the yaws camp which was constructed to house patients coming from the interior for yaws injections. It was empty and nearly always is empty. Nevertheless about 300 patients come every week to the dispensary for injections. There is a definite danger in such haphazard anti-yaws work, because sometimes the immediate effect of one injection is to remove all outward signs of the disease, and the patient then wrongly thinks that he is cured and does not come back for further injections, but spreads the infection in his household and village. Has all Adilabad District been included in the scheme for systematic yaws survey and treatment ? Has yaws been made compulsorily notifiable by bye-laws or rules under the District Board A'in ?

Once again on all the outskirts of Utnur we were beset by sheth-sendhis and Bestas protesting against the eternal *ath-pahria begar* levied by all the Utnur officials except the Tahsildar, particularly by the police. The Taluqdar of

Adilabad and the Special Tribes Officer were directed to enquire into this at once. The fact is that Utnur is so unhealthy that nearly all the officials leave their wives behind and so have to run a double establishment ; they therefore try to get free domestic service in Utnur. This must be sternly stopped, but at the same time the difficulty must be recognised and bad climate allowances paid.

Utnur is the unhealthiest place in the whole *taluk*, mainly because of the tanks. But it would be uneconomic to cut the bunds and drain the tanks, and the remedy seems to be to select an alternative and healthy headquarters for the *taluk*. There are practically no permanent Government buildings in Utnur except the inspection bungalow. That can easily remain or be taken over by the Forest Department. That department has wasted money on building a forest rest-house here, although the P.W.D. bungalow is so seldom occupied ; it has done this also elsewhere in Adilabad District, and the practice must cease. Possible sites for the alternative headquarters would be Inderveli village or the high ground about two miles from Utnur on the Gudi Hatnur road. The Taluqdar of Adilabad should take this up and in consultation with the Civil Surgeon and the Town Planning Architect select a healthy site and get plans prepared with a view to work being begun as soon as the war is over.

The cart track to Marlavai was repaired at the cost of Rs. 270 from my discretionary grant, almost all of which had to be spent on the *ghat* section. When the Inspector-General of Forests visits the District, I should be glad if he would advise how to keep this useful *ghat* section from constantly being spoiled by heavy rain. The rest of the cart-track was not in good condition. A little expenditure would enable this cart-track and its further continuation to the Pedda Vagu valley to be kept motorable in the touring season. Money could also be spent on aligning a similar *ghat* for the descent into the Pedda Vagu valley ; this improvement is likely to be badly needed by the Forest Department in the near future if it is true that the bamboos on which the paper factory depends are all seeding this year.

At Marlavai I saw the admirable *kachcha* school buildings erected by Baron Haimendorf, with quarters for the Gond who come for training as teachers. This institution is doing excellent work, and it is unfortunate that the Haimendorfs

had to depart to Assam before the work had been set on a permanent basis. It is hoped that they will be able to come back for two months every year to see progress. Meanwhile everything should be done to guarantee decent prospects for Mr. Jogalkar, whose services the Haimendorfs secured to run the Training School and to look after the schools that are springing up in neighbourhood as each teacher after training returns to his village. We should give Mr. Jogalkar at least a three years' contract. Fortunately the Special Tribal Officer (Mr. Moazzam Husain, H.C.S.) is prepared to make Marlavai his camp headquarters during the touring season. He will need larger quarters than the present Marlavai Forest Rest-house, and the Taluqdar of Adilabad is rightly taking this up; the Utnur forest rest-house would be a suitable and cheap model for a District Board rest-house at Marlavai which during Mr. Moazzam Hussain's special duty could be utilised by him whenever he halts at Marlavai.

In a walk round the village boundaries, Lachchu, the Gond Patel of Marlavai, and the villagers showed me the spot where the forest line had been brought close to the fields beyond the stream below the village, and said that four or five years ago when the forest survey party came, the forest surveyor had told them that if they paid him Rs. 200 the boundary would be pushed back to the other side of a ridge on which the villagers formerly used to raise good *kharif jowar* and oilseeds. They could only afford to give him Rs. 50 and so lost the ridge. There are many such complaints in all villages about previous forest settlement work, all indicating lack of control by former revenue and forest officers. On the ridge behind the forest rest-house a similar forest line goes right across the middle of good cultivation. Marlavai in fact is typical of what is complained of throughout this area, the merciless laying down of boundaries by forest officers without the slightest regard to the convenience of the villagers. Also in the village there is a surprising area of land now under permanent cultivation for which no *patta* rights have yet been given. Mr. Moazzam Hussain would find it instructive to make a village survey of Marlavai, giving the history of each parcel of land under cultivation and showing how it came to be broken from waste and under what conditions it is now held. Such a study would be valuable for the solution of the problem, which exists not only in Adilabad District but in all the semi-forest tracts of the Manthani-Mahadeopur *taluq* of Karimnagar and in the Mulug, Pakhal, Yellandu and Borgampahad *taluqs* of Warangal,

We were visited, like Mr. Lillie last year, by numbers of aborigines with grievances. A great majority of these will be solved if the land problem is tackled in the systematic manner suggested in my policy note. Mr. Lillie mentioned in para. 39 of his inspection note of January 1943 the vicious system of collection of certain *patti* or "taxes" by forest subordinates, but he did not mention the *ghaspatti* or grass tax. There were many complaints about this. Each year, for example, the right to cut grass in the forests of Utnur Range is auctioned, the amount involved being only Rs. 200 or Rs. 300. The successful bidder himself cuts no grass but levies a *patti* at so much per house from every villager in and around the forest whether he actually cuts grass or not. I issued orders on the spot that this was not to be auctioned in future : the system must everywhere be abandoned. Orders must be issued also to continue in future the free *mahua* collection concession authorised originally for famine relief, and to stop the old system of auctioning the right to collect *mahua*, under which the contractor bothers himself with the collection only of *mahua* seeds and collects no flowers, but instead levies a similar *patti* from every villager on the ground that his cattle must have eaten some *mahua* in the area covered by the contract.

I agree also with what Mr. Lillie wrote in para. 40 of the same note on the recovery of *chaubina*, or the value of timber on land acquired for cultivation. The Inspector-General of Forests fully agrees, and so orders must issue at once.

A case that deserves mention is that of two Naikpod *bhagela* of a certain Ghulam Qadir who came to Utnur some years ago as the Tahsildar's cook but has since acquired wealth, a house and lands close to Utnur on the Gudi Hatnur road. Many aboriginal holdings have passed under his control. Apparently he advanced money to one of these Naikpod for payment of bride-price and wedding expenses. When the Naikpod could not repay the loan (which was quite impossible because of the miserable pittance of wages given to him as *bhagela*), Ghulam Qadir annexed his bride. The two Naikpod then ran away to Marlavai after trying to compensate themselves in part by taking with them some agricultural implements and other things belonging to Ghulam Qadir. On approaching the police about the wife they were told that as Ghulam Qadir had made the woman a Muslim nothing could be done and that in any case the offence was non-cognizable. On the other hand Ghulam

Qadir went to the police and complained of the theft of his implements, but here the police were willing to set the law in motion against the Naikpod. Fortunately the Special Officer had been able to intervene. The case however is a striking example of the mistake of divorcing judicial and executive powers in backward areas. It is imperative that aboriginal parties should not have to go for justice to a Munsiff so far away as Both. On the other hand it would be impossible to justify a separate civil court for Utnur. The restoration of judicial powers to First and Second Taluqdars and Tahsildars in such tribal areas would be in complete harmony with the practice in the Madras Agency Tracts and elsewhere, would make it possible for the only officers who tour in these tribal areas to give effective justice on the spot, and would also save Government a considerable expenditure on the provision of courts and quarters for the judicial staff, who ordinarily do not have more than one hour's work a day. Nor, when the judicial was separated from the executive, was it seen that certain powers, which are essentially powers to be vested in the officers responsible for law and order and for discharging the old executive functions of the District Magistrate, would still be needed by the Taluqdars if they were to control the police and crime properly. This was remedied partly by the restoration to revenue officers of powers to deal with cases under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. But another power that they must have restored to them is the power to direct the police to investigate non-cognizable offences. Had the Special Officer possessed these powers, it would have been easier to take effective action against Ghulam Qadir.

(e) January 1944

*Note on
the Policy to be Adopted in the Tribal Areas of the
Adilabad District.*

The special *laoni* problem was discussed at Kespapur. The note prepared by Mr. Moazzam Hussain, Special Officer, dated 14th Isfandar 1353 F., in consultation with Baron Haimendorf, can now be taken as the basis of a notification for special *laoni*. The boundaries of the areas to be notified are stated clearly in para 3 of the note. With the exception of Nirmal, Sirpur and Chinnur Taluqs, roughly speaking the rest of the area now to be notified is all the central plateau from the west of Both and Kinwat Taluqs to the hills just west of a line from Rajura through Asifabad to a point about

half way between Mancherial and Lakshattipet, excluding the actual Godavari plain, though the eastern boundary at two points projects to the east of this line, and though a substantial enclave of non-aboriginal villages between Both and Ichora (on the Nirmal-Adilabad road) is excluded from the tribal area. This notification will thus leave areas in which ordinary *laoni* is available to non-aboriginals in Both, Kinwat, Adilabad, Rajura, Sirpur, Chinnur, Lakshattipet and Nirmal Taluqs. Outside the areas where special *laoni* is thus reserved for aborigines, special *laoni* should be allowed to all those castes and tribes and communities who have been allowed special *luoni* in Nalgonda and other districts.

In Nirmal, Sirpur and Chinnur Taluqs the tribal areas have not been defined. The census village lists, however, will give us accurate information as to the villages where the tribal population is not less than 40 per cent. of the whole. The notification might also therefore restrict special *laoni* to the aborigines in those villages where the population of aborigines (excluding Banjara, Mathura, Andh and Koli) is 40 per cent. of the total. The lists on the file given by the Statistical Department must be checked against the village returns so as to exclude members of these tribes from the tribal population.

This, however, does not go quite far enough. In this tribal area of Adilabad we have also to refuse ordinary *laoni* to non-aboriginals, but we should also include the village *kotwal* as persons to whom *inam* land may be given on special *laoni*. There is however no need to delay the special *laoni* notification for further examination of the legal steps that are necessary for excluding the non-aboriginals from all *laoni* in the tribal area. It should be seen whether this can be legally done under the Land Alienation Act, or whether a separate order of Government or Regulation is necessary for the purpose.

The tribes to be notified for the tribal areas will be Gond (including Raj-Gond), Koya (including Racha-Koya), Pardhan, Thoti, Kolam, Naikpod and Ojha. Banjara, Andh and Koli may safely be omitted. Most of the local Banjara are regular exploiters, and Andh and Koli are recent detribalised immigrants.

Apart from prohibiting ordinary *laoni* in favour of non aborigines in the tribal area, it is necessary also to prevent

the alienation of aboriginal land to non-aboriginals. Recent enquiries made by me in Yeotmal and Chanda Districts, both bordering on Adilabad District, show the great extent to which aborigines have been expropriated from their lands in those areas, and we must check the process in Adilabad before it gathers momentum there.

I had hoped to discuss the forest question with the Inspector-General of Forests at Kespur, but he was detained in Hyderabad by fever. I talked it over, however, with the First and Second Taluqdar, the Special Officer, Baron Haimendorf and the D. F. O., Nirmal. The question has hitherto been regarded as concerning only the Daboli block in Nirmal Forest Division, and the Tilani block in Asifabad Forest Division, in Utnur and Asifabad Taluqs respectively. Baron Haimendorf, the Taluqdar and the Special Officer have pointed out that if my previous suggestion of entirely dropping the reservation of Daboli and Tilani were to be accepted, the Gond and Kolam of the Satmala block and the Manikgarh block would feel that this was unjust discrimination. Moreover there are in both the Daboli and the Tilani blocks areas of good forest where cultivation could not conceivably be allowed. The whole question then resolves itself into one of detailed discrimination between land which should be retained as forest and land which should be handed over to each village for allowing the villagers sufficient *nistar* and other requirements (cf. the Central Provinces *ryotwari minhai* forests). A pressing further need almost everywhere in the district is to push back forest boundaries which are too close to village-sites. Then there is the problem of meeting the local demand for land now included in notified or proposed reserved forests. The Taluqdar says that there are taluq registers of the areas which have been asked for. Many of these are included in deserted villages, which are now shown as within the Reserves. There has been no correlation between these applications and the stock-maps of the Forest Department. When the Nirmal Division Working Plan was made, Utnur Taluq was excluded, and no stock-maps of the taluq forests have yet been prepared or at least received in the D. F. O.'s office. The D. F. O. says, however, that Mr. Bhogle, Assistant Conservator, was deputed here last year to prepare a working plan for Utnur Taluq, but no copy of his report is available. The Asifabad Forest Division Working Plan is under revision. It should now be possible therefore to decide whether any area for which cultivation applications have been received is definitely needed as a part

of a Forest Reserve or not, and so to earmark as available for special *laoni* not only *kharij-i-khata* lands outside the Reserves, but also lands now included within the forests which never will be of any use as forest and can be colonised by aborigines. When the Forest Department says that any land applied for should be refused because of its forest value, there should be a joint inspection by the D. F. O. and the Taluqdar or Special Officer.

The first task therefore of the Special Officer (Mr. Moazzam Hussain, H.C.S.) will be to take in hand the classification of lands within Utnur Taluq and Tilani Block. Can we card-index applications or would-be applicants, and also areas where whole villages could be settled, and so have planned villages formed? In such areas we should appoint no *watandar patwari* or *patel* under the existing rules but should let the leader of the colony be the *patel* and allow qualified *watandari* rights to be earned by efficiency, once a village has become permanent, on lines similar to the Central Provinces rules for granting *watandari* rights to the *patel*-founders of new ryotwari villages. Special *sarkari patwaris* should be appointed for such new villages. No notice need be taken of nominal existing *watan* rights where these have long ceased to have any reality because the village after its inclusion in a Reserve has been deserted.

A capable English-knowing Coimbatore or Dehra Dun trained Ranger should be placed on special duty to work with and under the control of the Special Officer, that control to be exercised in consultation with the Taluqdar and D. F. O. The two together should not only deal with the demarcation of the areas in Daboli and Tilani to be reserved and examine the areas for which cultivation applications have been received, but should also inspect all forest boundaries in the areas where they are touring to see whether local rectifications are needed. Mr. Moazzam Hussain has still no staff, though the Taluqdar of Adilabad states that the case went up to the Revenue Secretariat three months ago. He must be given at once two English-knowing clerks. Sanction should be given to him to engage 4 peons, but he will only engage them as he finds them to be necessary. The Tahsildar of Utnur has not much revenue work to do and should be completely under the Special Officer, who in addition to his other duties should be Divisional Officer for Utnur. But a young and active Tahsildar must be appointed to Utnur for this special duty. The Tilani area is in Asifabad Taluq, and the special

work there, according to the Taluqdar, could be done by the Tahsildar of Asifabad in addition to his other duties, but he would be under the divided control of the Divisional Officer, Asifabad and the Special Officer, Utnur ; therefore, if the present strength of the Tahsildars' cadre permits it, we should also post a second Tahsildar on special duty under the Special Officer. The Special Officer and under him the Tahsildar of Utnur and the Special Tahsildar could then divide between them the whole of this work. Similarly if a younger and more active Coimbatore or Dehra Dun trained Ranger can replace the present Utnur Ranger he can relieve the special Ranger of half of the work. We should aim at the field work for Utnur and Tilani being completed before the rains, during which the Special Officer should write up his report either in Adilabad or in Hyderabad. Proposals for rectifying village forest boundaries should be sent up for orders, however, village by village, in English, and not delayed for the general report.

Another problem for the Taluqdar and the Special Officer will be to secure land for *podu* cultivation for Kolam and Naikpod : the areas where this will be necessary are the Rali, Tilani, Dhanora and Manikgarh forests of the Asifabad Forest Division and the Satmala and Kawal forests of the Nirmal Forest Division. The areas involved are small and the population for which provision has to be made only a few hundred families. The annual requirements per family may be taken as $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and no plot should be allowed to be cultivated for more than two successive years. Hill slopes with light forests are preferred and these require 10 years' rest fellings. This means that for each family $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres will be required, with a small reserve for new families. We should therefore take on the average 10 acres per family, divided into $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre plots, each to be cultivated once in 10 years for 2 years at a time, as our basis. The distribution of the land should be left to the people themselves, provided that it is restricted to the delimited area and the rotation rules are followed. If the population increases under this regularisation of what is now an illegality, then any further land can only be provided by *taungya* cultivation. The position can be reviewed at decennial intervals ; in the meantime all possible efforts should be made by means of special Forest Co-operative Societies and otherwise to provide the Kolam and Naikpod with decent plough-lands and the means of cultivating them.

Forest villages. The Special Officer and the special forest staff will also have to take into account the need of land for forest villages. One effect of any large distribution of land on special *laoni* for the foundation of new villages on lands at present within the Reserves or proposed Reserves will be greatly to reduce the labour available for forest work. There are now only three forest villages in the district, all in Nirmal Forest Division. Provision has been made in the new Forest Bill for power to regulate forest villages by rules. There is an enormous area in Srichelma, Utjur and Ajbar-Wajhar State Forests without revenue or forest villages. In deciding therefore whether the deserted villages are better suited for excision for cultivation or for retention within the Reserves, it should be remembered that the need of forest villages as well as the forest capacities of land are criteria for retention within the Reserves. The standard of living of the local Gond is high, and if he is to be persuaded to work in a forest village it will be essential for the forest village rules to secure that he gets a full daily wage for his labour, the rules for this purpose including all the latest provisions in the Forest Village Rules of the Central Provinces, where in the light of Sir Francis Wylie's and other notes much has been done to remove the grievances of forest villagers.

The Special Officer must at once have a travelling allowance allotment. It should be assumed that he will be out on tour for 30 days a month for the whole of the next six months. He will need Rs. 2,000 allotment for this (including *barbardari*). Supplies in Utjur are nearly twice as dear as in plains *taluqs*, because there are no local shops and everything has to be brought from afar ; the *taluk* also is unhealthy, so that special stores have to be carried and special arrangements for water to be made. The daily rate therefore should be Rs. 7. Incidentally the Special Officer should be permitted to halt at Marlavai for more than 10 days at a time, his normal headquarters being Adilabad. The Inspector-General of Forests will have to make proposals for the staff and budget of the special forest staff.

Other Aspects of the Tribal Problem.— The survey-settlement of Utjur is now due. The Taluqdar of Adilabad could not from memory state when it will fall due in the other *taluqs*, parts of which are comprised within the proposed special *laoni* Tribal Area (Both, Kinwat, Adilabad, Rajura, Asifabad and Lakshattipet). A major problem is the position of tribal cultivators of lands held by non-

aboriginal *pattadars*. These will be affected by the coming enactment of the Tenancy Bill, the supplementary *guzarish* for submitting which for the assent of His Exalted Highness in the light of the discussions with the Jagirdars' Association has to go to Council immediately. It will then be necessary to consider how the work of determining tribal tenants' rights under the Bill will fit in with the settlement of Utnur and the resettlement of other parts of the district. Almost certainly in this district we shall have to depart from the usual Hyderabad practice of having the settlement conducted by parties controlled from Hyderabad by the Settlement Commissioner, and instead shall have to have someone in the district with the power of a Settlement Officer, either the Taluqdar or the Special Officer or both. To facilitate this work, and also the whole process of setting in order the tribal areas of Adilabad and of other parts of the State, it is necessary to get promulgated a Tribal Areas Regulation on the lines of the rough draft which I wrote last year. There is a file in the Revenue Secretariat about introducing the Madras Agency System for our tribal areas, which seems to have buried itself alive for a period longer than the usual yogi. Let this be dug up at once. The draft Regulation will now be redrafted on the lines that the Taluqdar of any district containing a tribal area should be the Agent to the Government, with any Special Officers appointed for the areas normally working under him as Special Assistant Agents; it may sometimes be necessary to have a Special Agent with full Agency powers. Normally every Second Taluqdar whose Division includes all or part of a tribal area should be an Assistant Agent. As moreover this Regulation should be a permanent feature of the Constitution and will deal with certain things outside the legal purview of the new legislature, it is probably desirable to get it promulgated as an *A'in* rather than as a *Dastur-ul-Amal*¹ or an Act of the Legislature. It should include special rule-making powers and, above all, a provision whereby no ordinary law of the State shall apply in a tribal area unless special notification to that effect is issued and that in so applying such a law the Government may vary it as they think necessary to suit the special circumstances of all or any tribal areas.

Co-operative organisation.—I should like the Co-operative Department to experiment with the foundation of at least one village on a collective farming basis, fostering it with

¹. This has been enacted as a permanent *Dastur-ul-Amal* of His Exalted Highness on March 29th, 1947; it is printed in the Appendix to this book.

generous assistance from either the Rural Welfare Trust or the budget allotment for aboriginal tribes. For the 1354 F. budget a small co-operative staff might be provided of, say, two organizers for dealing with collective farming, formation of purchase-and-sales societies and co-operative forest societies. I have said two, although in the scheme tentatively worked out by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Taluqdar, of Adilabad and Baron Haimendorf one only was mentioned, because there should be some relief so that each can have a recess for part of the year and because communications are difficult and it is necessary to try more than one area at a time.

The time has now come when Baron Haimendorf's confidential reports on this district should be printed,¹ together with the valuable tribal map prepared by him. The printed copies of each report could at present be kept separately, but ultimately all, when reinforced by the Special Officer's Report on the rest of the district and the special orders issued by Government, should be bound into one volume. The Baron's reports on the Koya and Hill Reddi areas might also be included. The Chenchu report could be omitted, as its substance is included in his book on that tribe.

Office should note on the present commitments for expenditure from the budget grant of Rs. 25,000 for aborigines in 1353 F. The education scheme in the Adilabad Tribal Areas will cost Rs. 10,000 a year and Rs. 9,000 will cover the cost of the Special Officer's establishment (but not of the special forest staff). There will also be some expenditure on the printing of these special reports. Immediate consideration should be given to the budget for 1354 so that we may ask in ample time for an adequate increase of the Rs. 25,000 allotment made in 1352 and 1353 F.

(f) February 1946 Tour.

The chief purpose of the tour was to attend what I hope will now be the annual tribal *darbar* at the Keslapur *jatra*. A substantially accurate report has appeared in the press. What is remarkable is the entire change in the attitude of the aborigines of the district to Government and Government officials since the forward policy of tribal rehabilitation was first instituted some eight years ago. The credit for this is very largely due to Baron Haimendorf, the Aboriginal and

¹. See *Tribal Hyderabad*, by Baron C. von Fürer Haimendorf (Hyderabad, 1945).

Backward Tribes Adviser, and his wife, while excellent work is being done by Mr. Qamaruddin, H.C.S., Mr. Zaidi, H.C.S. the present Taluqdar and District Superintendent of Police respectively, and by Mr. Moazzam Hussain, H.C.S., the Special Tribes Officer, who has now made rapid progress with the allotment of land in *patta* right in Utnur. Mr. Moazzam Hussain's zeal has told on his health, several severe attacks of malaria having been followed now by an attack of yaws, but nothing seems to daunt him. It is a real pleasure to see the affection with which he is regarded by the local Gond.

I should like the Director-General of Revenue to let me have a note on bad climate allowances for all the touring officials stationed in the Tribal Areas. The present position is anomalous, in that only some officials stationed in Utnur Taluq get the allowance, while, I understand, under the rules (as they stand) Mr. Moazzam Hussain, merely because his headquarters are transferred from Marlavai to Asifabad, ceases to be eligible for the allowance, although he will have to, tour all his time in most unhealthy localities.

I inspected the aboriginal school at Keslapur and was delighted to see the excellent progress made in imparting literacy to Gond boys and adults. They are becoming literate in Gondi, Urdu and Marathi. The spontaneous, easy singing of tribal songs was a refreshing contrast to the dreary nasalisation of Marathi or Hindi songs in the average school in the Central Provinces aboriginal areas. Actual experience of the Marlavai Education Scheme convinces me of the soundness of the general recommendations in respect of aboriginal education in my Central Provinces Report, though the results could not have been achieved without the presence of workers of the calibre and public spirit of the Haimendorfs to get things going. The most practical feature of the scheme is the selection and training of tribesmen to work as teachers in tribal areas, thus overcoming the chronic reluctance of men from the plains and towns to teach in aboriginal villages. I am in very substantial agreement with the further measures for tribal rehabilitation outlined in Baron Haimendorf's last (September 1945-Aban 1354 F.) report on the rehabilitation of aborigines in Adilabad District. I hope that this will now be printed as soon as possible (with my 1944 note on the policy to be adopted in the tribal areas of the districts as an appendix to it) for submission to the Executive Council as a formal *guzarish*. Obviously the time has come to put all this work on a permanent and ex-

panding basis. The first-class work that has been done by Mr. Jogalkar, the Superintendent of the Marlavai Training School, must be recognised, at least by giving him permanent employment. We should also as soon as possible get all the tribal teachers and workers employed on a permanent basis.

I doubt whether the expenditure of some Rs. 400 incurred by the Public Health Department on moving a Health Exhibition to Keslapur was worth while, because none of the demonstrators seemed to have much idea of how to get their propaganda across to the hundreds of Gond who visited the exhibition. Moreover, all the posters and placards were printed in either English and Urdu or both, and I did not see one in Marathi, much less in Gondi. The adequate use of *mulki* languages for health propaganda needs particular attention. Medicine chests were distributed by Baroness Haimendorf to most of the teachers of the 30 Gond schools.

During the tribal *darbar* I distributed some 42 *sanads* of appointment to new tribal *patels* and also saw the Gond *patwaris* so far appointed. What is of great importance is from now onwards to associate Tribal Committees with the formulation and execution of rehabilitation policy. It is not likely that there will always be available Haimendorfs or other humanitarians to nurse rehabilitation schemes beyond their initial stages ; the sooner the tribesmen themselves therefore are associated with the management of the schemes, the more permanent will be their results in educating the tribesmen to run their own economic and political life.

At the *darbar* I announced the final replacement of the old grass and other *patti* or cesses by an easy commutation scheme applicable to the tribal areas of Utnur, Both, Kinwat, Adilabad, Rajura and Asifabad Taluqs. I desire this to be extended also *at once* to Sirpur Taluq.

My visit to Mahur and Sikhar was the first visit of a Revenue Member or Director-General of Revenue since Mr. Crofton's visit in January 1937. It is fortunate that the opening of Kinwat Taluq to the outer world by the railway and by road has been so badly delayed by the war. Road communication with Mahur should now receive high priority.

In this large land-locked *taluq* the only Government dis-

pensary is at Kinwat. There is a private dispensary run at his own expense with some difficulty by Mr. Balaram, the Banjara *patel* of Mandvi ; I shall arrange on my return for the despatch at the cost of my discretionary grant of Rs. 500 worth of medicine for this dispensary. At several points on the journey the children were seen suffering from yaws. The people of Mandvi and Sikhar made vehement requests for a dispensary at Mahur, and obviously this should be provided ; from the general public health point of view it is a necessity, since hundreds of pilgrims constantly visit the two Gosai monasteries and the Renuka Devi Temple at Sikhar and the Manbhau monastery at Mahur.

I spoke to a crowd of several hundreds of ryots gathered at Mahur. Half of them were mainly concerned with exemption from the *kharif juari* levy. The average *juari* output of Kinwat Taluq this year has only been 5 or 6 annas, and throughout the *paharpatti* or hilly tract is below 4 annas. According to the figures so far worked out, out of 58,000 acres under *juari* some 20,000 will qualify for full exemption from the levy and 18,000 for half exemption. The food situation in the *paharpatti* will need careful watching, and I doubt whether much more *juari* can safely be removed out of the *taluq*, though the rich lands around Kinwat and Mahur should be able to make an adequate contribution to the feeding of the district.

(g) January 1947 Tour.

The main purpose of the tour was to attend (for the third time) the annual tribal gathering at the Keslapur *jatra*. The attendance at the *jatra* was better than ever, and a feature of this year's tribal *darbar* was that the Taluqdar (Mr. Qamarud-din H.C.S.), the Special Officer (Mr. Sethu Madhav Rao), Baron Haimendorf and myself addressed the gathering in Gondi. Mr. Sethu Madhav Rao also made a short speech in Kolami ; he is greatly to be congratulated on the manner in which he has set himself to become fluent in the tribal languages. Advantage was also taken of this *darbar* to present the *Tamga-i-Asafia* awarded to Mr. Moazzam Hussain, H.C.S., for his work as the first Special Tribes Officer, and Victory Medals to the Haimendorfs and others who have been actively associated with the tribal rehabilitation work in the Adilabad District, including three Gond and a Kolam.

The tribal school at Keslapur continues to flourish. It is really amazing to see the facility with which the boys, who

are now in the third year of their studies, read and write three languages, Gondi, Marathi and Urdu. Remarkable too is the fact that they seem to find the Urdu script easier both to read and write than the Nagari script. This makes me wonder whether it would not have been sounder to have taught Gondi through the Urdu rather than the Nagari script. They also seem to be more fluent in Urdu than in Marathi conversation. The number of tribal schools opened since this Marlavai experiment began is now 40, and 20 teacher candidates, all of whom were present at the Keslapur school, are at present under training. These will probably on completion of their training start another 11 or 12 new schools, the others being absorbed as assistant teachers in existing schools.

The training of aborigines as village *patels* and *patwaris* also continues ; it is to be hoped that in future, with the early tackling of the abolition or reform of the *watandari* system in tribal areas, many more places will be found for tribal village officers.

I do not know why nothing was done this year by the Agricultural Department to display improved seeds, implements and methods at the Keslapur *jatra*. The Public Health Department had its usual display, and had shown commendable response to my suggestion last year that the captions on their placards should be printed in Gondi. What has happened to the Agricultural Assistant supposed to have been posted to Adilabad District ? For the last 6 months no one in the district appears to have seen him, and certainly no diaries have been submitted by him to the Taluqdar. The Director of Agriculture will please note on this immediately.

I distributed 20 pairs of plough bullocks to new aboriginal *pattadars* who are taking these bullocks on the hire-purchase system recently financed by the Rural Welfare Trust.

The feeder road of about 3½ miles from the Guri-Hatnur-Utnur road to Keslapur which I called for after my last year's visit has not yet been started. According to a provisional estimate it will cost some Rs. 25,000. It was said that there had been some reluctance on the part of the District Board to meet this cost. Considering, however, that Keslapur is the principal annual gathering of Gond, Pardhan and Kolam in a district with a tribal population of nearly 100,000, among whom the District Board has done practically nothing

except to collect taxes, I trust that the Board will have no hesitation in sanctioning this sum and also in providing two or three good drinking water wells for the annual fair.

Marlavai was visited with the Director-General of Revenue, the Inspector-General of Forests, the Haimendorfs, the Taluqdar, the Executive Engineer and a representative of the contracting firm of Messrs. D. D. Italia. The centre continues to flourish despite the setback that occurred through the outbreak of cholera during the rains, in which Lachchu, the influential *patel* of the village, died. Because of this, however, the villagers want to shift the site of their *abadi*. Even if Mr. Jogalkar is unable to dissuade them from this unnecessary step, it will not altogether be a bad thing to have this deserted site available for expansion of the rural reconstruction centre. The P.W.D. has not yet started the permanent buildings sanctioned for the headmaster's house, nor has work begun on the roads and other buildings that were to be constructed under the Local Government Engineer's supervision. No decision had been taken as to the maintenance of the road from Utnur to Marlavai ; the Inspector-General of Forests therefore agreed to maintain the road as a forest road and to take over the construction of the rest-house and the other District Board buildings. Arrangements were made with Messrs. D. D. Italia's representative and the Executive Engineer that the present small contractor, who had hardly started work on the Headmaster's house, should complete the work as sub-contractor under Messrs. D. D. Italia. I noticed that all the *kachcha* buildings needed mud plastering and other repairs, and give Rs. 250 from my discretionary grant for this purpose.

The rural and grain banks that were started during the year our of the Rs. 10,000 grant made available for this purpose from the Rural Welfare Trust, have made an excellent start. All the grain borrowed by the aborigines had been returned with 25 per cent. interest and the bank has also opened a retail shop for consumer goods needed locally. Hitherto, however, the district authorities had not succeeded in persuading the Textile Controller to provide cloth. Fortunately the Supply Secretary came to Keslapur and agreed at once to set this right provided the Supply Department are given statistics of the population and the number of villages which will be served by this and other co-operative shops in the tribal area. Use could also be made of these co-operative

shops as local retail agents for the supply of iron and steel for agricultural purposes.

Some effort should now be made at Marlavai to train local villagers in elementary anti-malarial control, e.g., the destruction of mosquitoes by spraying of huts and cattle sheds ; at present medical relief and public health work are inadequate in Adilabad District. The post of Civil Surgeon has been vacant for 5 months and that of the A.M.O., Utnur, for 10 months. Nor is there any Assistant Health Officer at Adilabad. At the time of my visit to Adilabad even the Assistant Surgeon was away, and all medical work at the headquarters of the district was left to a single A.M.O. The old anti-malarial work based on Utnur has come to an end. The yaws campaign about which so much was written in the past has completely ended, and yaws is once again spreading widely in the tribal areas. I have written to the Hon'ble Minister for Medical Relief and Public Health, asking for his immediate good offices to put these matters right. One way of overcoming the reluctance of Medical and Public Health Officers to serve in these forest areas might be to make it quite clear that service there will not be regarded as *kala pani* but as a post of honour in which good work will lead to promotion. Apart from this, every effort should be made to train local aborigines in anti-malarial and even, if possible, in anti-yaws measures. Under the Social Service Scheme a Health Inspector will shortly be posted to Marlavai independently of the Public Health Department.

Good work has been done by the Marlavai agricultural demonstrator, and the demonstration farm of 26 acres started there has produced some remarkably fine *juari* from improved seed, despite the ravages of wild pig. Good work has also been done by Mr. Ramchandra Reddi, the Co-operative Inspector at Utnur, who was responsible for the organisation of the co-operative societies in Manikpur and Keslapur. It is quite obvious that the tribal areas afford an admirable field for co-operative organisation of village economy, and I impressed upon the Inspector-General of Forests and his officers the need for rapid organisation of forest co-operative societies which could undertake the exploitation not only of minor forest produce but also of standing coupes. The Inspector-General of Forests promised to undertake this if he could have a co-operative organiser attached to his department ; this should be taken up at once by the Rural Reconstruction Secretariat,

I walked out with Mr. Moazzam Hussain, H.C.S., the former Special Tribes Officer, now my Personal Assistant, to the village of Ragapur about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Marlavai which had been re-inhabited under his care when he was Special Officer at Marlavai. The village was in a flourishing condition, and he was affectionately greeted by all the villagers. In all, since the question of separating land fit for cultivation from reserved forest land and allotting it to the aborigines was taken in hand, some 76,000 acres have been granted on *patta* to aborigines. The view from the hill top above Ragapur shows 5 or 6 newly re-inhabited villages which were made possible by this policy.

The general lines of this policy have thus clearly proved sound. It is now time to proceed with similar work in the Manikgarh, Satmala and Dhanora blocks. Actually the whole of Adilabad District will soon come under revision settlement. The average rate of assessment per acre is in some places as low as $7\frac{1}{4}$ annas, and there is clearly scope for enhancement, especially in view of the high rates that are charged by former *ijaradars* and by *pattadars* to sub-tenants. There is also a great deal of leeway to be made up in the forest settlement of the district which comprises the 3 D.F.O.s' charges of Nirmal, Mancherial and Asifabad. The case for the appointment of a Revenue Officer as Settlement Officer for the district is now in circulation among the Members of Council. It is to be hoped that a decision will be taken soon. The Settlement Officer should also be given the powers of a Forest Settlement Officer so that the final work of excision of areas unsuitable for forest and of correction of village boundaries, where the forest impinges too closely upon the *abadi*, can be settled without further delay. The Inspector-General of Forests welcomed this suggestion. For still, in spite of all that has been said in Baron Haimendorf's reports and in Government's orders on them, it is only too common for local forest officers to attempt to prosecute villagers who have cultivated land received on *patta* in good faith from the Revenue Department on the ground that the land is still legally part of the reserved forest. Despite the recent orders about disposal of *chaubina* or timber standing on land cleared for cultivation under the new *patta* grants, forest officials have prevented a number of villagers from disposing of this *chaubina* under the new orders. The legal position is clear. Once the land has been excised from the Reserves the Forest Department has no legal sanction for any action they may take in respect of such *chaubina*. At the same time they

have a reasonable complaint if *chaubina* wood is sold for a song to petty contractors by the new cultivators at prices which bring down the price of timber sold in definitely reserved forest coupes. After discussion between Revenue and Forest Officers it was decided that the best way of dealing with this would be to order, as a condition of the grant, that *chaubina* wood other than that required by new cultivators for their domestic use should be sold by them to local co-operative societies which would then dispose of the timber on the advice of the D.F.O. Owing to the time that it takes to apply the new policy to the forest blocks, there still are some old clearings included in the Manikgadh and other forest blocks where there is long standing aboriginal cultivation. As it is probable that most of these will ultimately have to be excised from the forest, in the meantime, pending the settlement of these blocks, the Forest Department should refrain from distributing any existing cultivation which began before the Keslapur *jatra* of 1946.

I want immediate effort made to organise a local advisory committee for tribal welfare work, the new Assembly Members and other Hindu and Muslim non-officials as well as selected Gonds being included. It is good also that now that the main tribal problems have been tackled, the Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes and the district officers are working on plans for similar measures for the local Multani and other backward Muslims and for the Depressed Classes.

Definite instructions will have to be issued to the new Settlement Officer. Above all, the preparation of an accurate record-of-rights is essential throughout the district, where present or former *ijaradars* have so much of their land cultivated by aborigines on rack-rents. Nowhere in the State is the record-of-rights more necessary than in tribal areas. It has already been laid down in the *guzarish* under circulation that a *Wajib-ul-Arz* or *Gaon Qaida* should be prepared for each village on lines analogous to those in force in the Central Provinces or in Berar. The Settlement Officer will also have to have full powers to settle *watandari* cases, including disciplinary powers.

CHAPTER IV.

WARANGAL AND KARIMNAGAR DISTRICTS

(a) *Warangal Tour, August 1938.*

I have drawn up a separate note on Paloncha problems. An extraordinary thing to me is that these Koya villages, though they have no real connection with the large Telugu villages of the more open part of the *samasthan*, are shown as attached to the *watans* of the *patels* and *patwaris* of those villages ; Venkampalam for example, though 13 or 14 miles from Mandanapalli, is therefore considered to be part of Mandanapalli village which is said to have 37 sub-villages or hamlets, most of them Koya villages at considerable distances from Mandanapalli. Dummapet has 4 or 5 sub-villages. Paloncha itself is said to have more than 40. It is absolutely unsound in aboriginal tracts to have aboriginal villages subjected to alien *patels* ; their own headmen should be *muqaddams* of the sub-villages, which are geographically distinct and should be administratively distinct from the large Telugu villages. It is said that when the ex-Secretary of the Raja of Paloncha was managing the *samasthan* for him he gave *watan* rights in these Koya villages to *patels* and *patwaris* such as those of Mandanapalli and Dummapet. The consequence is that all the good wet lands are in the hands of Telugu *sahukars* though cultivated by Koya as their *bhagela*. The Koya have however ample dry lands for light cultivation.

The Koya mentioned the restrictions on tapping toddy trees and contrasted the position here with that across the river in the East Godavari district where there is a system of free tapping licenses for aborigines. There is a clear case for similar concessions in our Koya villages. The Taluqdar of Paloncha should investigate the complaint of the *peda* (aboriginal headman) of Venkampalam that he some years ago planted toddy trees with permission, but that they are now being auctioned by the Excise Department as Government *abkari* trees.

I saw several bad cases of yaws. In the pamphlet on investigation of yaws in Warangal by Dr. Chenoy reprinted

from the Indian Medical Gazette of June 1936 the whole of this area is shown as infected with yaws and investigated ; but no personal investigation was made in the villages round Venkampalam by any doctor, according to the villagers, nor has relief yet reached them. The Secretariat will ask the Director, Medical and Public Health, for further details of the nature and results of the investigation ; the percentage of the population affected seems to be higher than 5, the figure given on page 2 of the pamphlet. The real problem is how now to organise relief. There is no reason why inoculation work should be stopped during the monsoon. Having had personal experience of the organization of yaws campaigns in Bastar State, where yaws work was begun in 1929, and to the Bhopalpatnam and Madder dispensaries of which many yaws patients came from the adjacent villages of the Karimnagar district, I should insist on the travelling inoculators visiting central villages in the infected area and repeating the same route three times in succession until all the patients have had their full course of inoculations. There should be no difficulty in collecting infected men, women and children at those centres. Once a Koya or Gond sees the astonishingly rapid effect on yaws of an injection, any slight hesitation over inoculation immediately disappears. The long continued ravages of yaws in the Godavari valley and the absence of any local dispensaries are not too creditable. My own inclination would be to have in these localities a combined house and dispensary at different villages for Assistant Medical Officers, who should be expected to tour for ten days in every month in the surrounding villages. In backward aboriginal villages an ordinary cut or sore is often neglected with appalling consequences, through sheer ignorance of remedial measures.

It is interesting to find amongst the Venkampalam Koya the phratry and clan organization prevalent amongst their Bison-horn Maria and Dorla kinsmen in south and central Bastar, though here I found only four of the phratries named in Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, viz., the Peramboi *gatta*, the Parad *gatta*, the Murdu *gatta* and the Aidu *gatta*. Of these names Parad means "fourth," Murdu "third" and Aidu "fifth." They knew only of one other phratry or *gatta*, but were uncertain as to its name as, it was not represented in the village, nor had any of them taken wives from it. Comparison of the names of the clans represented among the men of the 4 phratries in Venkampalam showed that the Perambhoi correspond to the Bison-horn Maria Kuhrami phratry, the

Murdugatta to the Markami, the Aidugatta to the Sodi, and the Paradgatta to the Marvi ; here, as around Dummagudem according to Cain, they knew of five phratries only and not of the others mentioned in the Godavari District Gazetteer. In this village the Peramboi men had married only from the Murdu and Aidu phratries, the Murdu men from the Peramboi, the Parad and the Aidu, the Parad only from the Peramboi and the Murdu, and the Aidu only from the Murdu.

There is still a tradition of the Koya having long ago come down to the Godavari valley from the north, and in answer to some questions as to tribal *panchayats* I learnt that still from time to time phratry "gurus" visit them from beyond the Godavari, and that for ultimate decisions in social matters occasional reference is still made to "gurus" or tribal headmen in the villages of Chinnamatapalli, Peddametapalli and Mukkunur of the Saberi valley, 20 miles north of Konta in Bastar State. Further investigation may well show an existing *panchayat* organisation to which petty civil and criminal jurisdiction could be left, as now in most of Bastar.

Between Venkampalam and Dummapet I saw several fields which had obviously been recently cleared of jungle by *dahya* cultivation, though I am told that there are orders prohibiting this ; I should like to see them.

(b) *Paloncha Samasthan (Warangal District) Consolidation Note, August 1938.*

Besides the estate Taluqdar of Paloncha's report on this, another factor will be the Paloncha settlement report. The survey and settlement are complete of the Tatkur, Shankargiri and Paloncha *pattis*, leaving only the Gundal *patti* for next year. There is said to be a pending reference from the Settlement Commissioner as to the manner in which these sub-villages of the *Samasthan* villages are to be treated. The estate Taluqdar wrote about this to the Nazim of the Court of Wards and to the Settlement Commissioner three months ago. I have not yet seen it. My provisional opinion is that it is desirable to treat the sub-villages as separate villages. Venkampalam, for example, already mentioned, was not originally part of Mandanapalli according to the *patel* of Mandanapalli, who told me that it was added to his *patelki watan* only 10 years ago. It is fundamentally unsound that these Koya villages should be included in the *watan* of the Telugu village officers of well-developed open villages. In

aboriginal country it is a sound administrative principle that the village headman should be the tribal headman, as the Telugu village officers not only contribute nothing to the village life of the Koya sub-villages but are apt to use their position to get hold for themselves or their friends of the best lands in the sub-villages. At Venkampalam, for example, all the wet land is in the hands of Telugu *sahukars*.

Another important question is the desirability of continuing to regulate Koya, Naikpod and other primitives by the same penal and criminal and civil procedure codes as the advanced parts of the Dominions. Across the Godavari in the Madras Agency Tracts there are simplifications of the penal and procedure codes and, at all events till very recently, there has been no separation of the judicial and executive, the Collector of the East Godavari district in his capacity as Agent to the Governor being the District Judge of the Agency Tracts. This general question would apply to larger areas than the Paloncha Samasthan, in fact to the whole Godavari valley tract from Asifabad to the Madras border of Paloncha.

(c) *Warangal Tour, August 1939.*

The construction of the road from Palampet to Ghanpur was in progress. The local villagers complained that the only labourers employed on this road were professional Waddar and no work was given to local Koya and Naikpod. Palampet village was seen, especially the Koya quarter. It is a malarious site, and the Taluqdar of Warangal should see whether the village can be shifted to a healthier spot.

Between Palampet and the main road a large number of *podu* clearings were seen, which had been cultivated by Koya of Palampet and Naikpod of Venkatapuram. The areas cleared are *parampok* lands, and the cultivators are charged *siva-i-jamabandi* rates. According to local ideas the right to do *podu* cultivation on these lands is hereditary, and when the same land is cleared again after a lapse of 10 or 12 years the same cultivator will have the right of *podu* over the land. These ideas of the aborigines are completely at variance with Hyderabad revenue law and do much to explain the difficulties that have been experienced when attempts have been made to allot lands for colonization or grants to ex-soldiers and the new settlers have found themselves up against the claims of local aborigines who have cleared and cultivated the lands in time past,

The subject was further discussed at Mahbubabad with the Inspector-General of Forests, the D.F.O., Khammamet, and the Taluqdar of Warangal, and at Paloncha with the Samasthan officers. There are in the large forest areas of the Warangal and Khammamet Forest Divisions, in Mulug, Yellandu, Borgampahad and Pakhal Taluqs and in Paloncha Samasthan many enclaves of revenue villages generally consisting of 12 or 18 Koya and Naikpod huts. The Koya and Naikpod generally live together. There is alleged to be no *podu* in demarcated forest reserves ; accurate information is not available as to the extent of *podu* in revenue and open forest lands, but it still goes on. No one had enquired into it. The existence of *podu* around Ramappa was a surprise to the local officers. I was told by villagers around Mahbubabad that *podu* is done by Koya near Pengonda and Kanalpur in Mahbubabad Taluq, but though I went for a mile or two beyond Edula—Pusapalli on the old Mahbubabad-Narsampet road towards Pengonda I saw no sign of this. The D.F.O. Warangal is having great difficulty in trying to attract Koya to the new forest villages. He wants to take over some of these revenue villages near Etunagaram. The only way of attracting Koya is to give them in forest villages the conditions which they like. He might discuss the matter with the D.F.O. Upper Godavari, when next he visits Kunavaram. Koya in the Agency tracts of East Godavari are still allowed *podu* in certain reserved areas, where there is a fixed rotation, a village having 9 or 10 *podu* areas, each of which is cultivated for only 2 years at a time and thus gets anything up to 18 years' rest before the forest growth is again felled and burnt. There is a good deal of worthless forest around these Koya settlements, especially in the Gundal *patti* of Paloncha, in which rotation areas of this kind might be arranged as an inducement to Koya to settle as forest villagers without any damage to valuable forest, while, if the Koya are allowed additional *podu* on lands which should be sown with teak seed in the second year of the *podu* by the *taungya* method, it should be possible to combine traditional ideas with modern regenerative practice. I have told the Taluqdar and the D. F. O. of Warangal to arrange a joint tour in the remote interior as soon as possible. The same conditions apply in Paloncha. There certain areas should be reserved for *podu* for Koya and Naikpod, and new villages founded. These measures involve tackling the abolition of the *u:atandari* system in Koya areas, and treating the *samuta doras* and village headmen of the aborigines as *muqaddams* for them. Lists should be made of these aboriginal leaders all through the district and the

samasthan, and of the areas over which they exercise traditional jurisdiction. Koya also need handling with respect for such traditional views as that bamboos and grass should not be cut before the appropriate ceremony has taken place. Free tree tapping licenses in forest villages might also be an inducement : Koya in the Godavari Agency whether in revenue or forest villages get this concession.

The Paloncha end of the projected Paloncha-Dummapet road, of which I saw the Dummapet end last year, was inspected as far as it has been constructed, up to the Mureru crossing between Sitarampuram and Pusagudam, and from the river I walked up to Sobbanapalle, a large Koya village described as a hamlet of Paloncha. The Mureru is a wide sandy river, and it is difficult to see how a permanent crossing can be made without considerable expense, so that probably the road must remain only a fair-weather road for many years to come. The Sobbanapalle Koya did not seem to be suffering from any shortage of food, their store-rooms having plenty of grain and forest products. Nowhere in fact around Paloncha was the cry of lack of work or impending famine raised. The Koya women of Sitarampuram danced, and the headman did *arti* with a live cock. The work on the road is very incomplete and the alignment has been taken at places 100 close to the river so that it is crossed by numerous drainage channels. There are signs of *podu* cultivation on both sides of the road. The Paloncha hill between this road and the main Paloncha-Borgampahad road has been rightly demarcated as a *samasthan* Reserved Forest.

(d) *Karimnagar Tour, January 1940.*

There is a great deal of yaws in and around Mahadeopur and between Katavaram and Bhimghanpur tanks, especially at Rampur. What is badly needed for this area is a travelling dispensary, which might well be under the control of the Divisional Forest Officer. The trouble with all previous attempts to deal with yaws has been that the Public Health Officers have worked too independently of the local Revenue and Forest Officers. The forest staff both in Mahadeopur and in Tadcherla suffers badly from malaria and lack of medical attendance.

Linked with the question of better medical facilities in these forest tracts is the housing question. At Tadcherla the entire range staff are living in *kachcha* quarters, and the

combined range office and quarters in which the Mahadeopur Ranger used to live before his transfer to Manthani are far too small and cramped. A new standard plan for range offices and quarters is essential. In his note on forest development in Adilabad District Mr. Crofton recently suggested a large increase in the conservancy grant and a considered housing scheme for the forest staff. Housing is equally necessary in Karimnagar Forest Division, and the conservancy grant is quite inadequate. In the past, so long as the Mahadeopur forests were not being worked, it may have sufficed ; as soon, however, as the Parkal-Mahadeopur road goes through and the forest roads which I suggested in a previous tour note are constructed as feeders to it, the revenue of the three ranges in Mahadeopur Taluq must greatly increase ; the figure of Rs. 70,000 given by the Divisional Forest Officer to Mr. Crofton is very conservative. I have asked the Divisional Forest Officer for further information about his forests as a basis for a note to supplement Mr. Crofton's note on forest policy in Adilabad District. Meanwhile I would also note that no use is being made of the Godavari by the Forest Department for floating down timber and little seems to be known of the conditions at the great timber market at Rajahmundry, although that is the principal market for the extensive forests of South Chanda, South Bastar and the East Godavari Agency taluqs of Madras. River-floating is the cheapest form of transport. It is not unknown to Mahadeopur Taluq villagers ; I visited Peddapet, a Koya village on the Godavari in square B4 of sheet 65 B/NW, and found in one house that two members of the family had gone away floating timber to Rajahmundry on behalf of some contractors who were clearing land that in theory had been granted to ex-soldiers for cultivation. The Divisional Forest Officer complains that too much land was given out in this way along the Godavari banks in this taluq and that the usual practice is to clear the timber, which is sold profitably to contractors, after which the ex-soldiers take no further interest in their holdings. This backward tract, at least from Peddapet along the Godavari to Etunagaram, where the chief inhabitants are Koya, is not a suitable tract for intruding Hindu and Muslim settlers, while there is a distinct danger in cutting down forest along the Godavari banks where erosion is already common and damage frequent. At Sarvaipet (65/NW 64) along the Godavari the Forest Department this year is felling trees that are damaged by the Godavari floods, which are fetching a good price. There is so much crooked teak in this area, and this is so popular with the Rajahmundry contractors,

that it might be suggested that it would be a sound thing for the Divisional Forest Officers of Karimnagar and Warangal to be allowed to go to Rajahmundry to study market conditions. Even with the construction of the Mahadeopur—Parkal road it will still be almost impossible to exploit the forests in the north-east corner of the taluq and in the adjacent Nagaram State Forest of Warangal District without making use of the Godavari.

The Peddapet villagers were subsisting on one small meal a day of boiled beans with a few forest fruits, and at Peddapet, Ambatpalli, Suraram and Bamapur between Peddapet and Mahadeopur there were definite signs of emaciation. There is a good track parallel to the Godavari often following the forest line, by which we motored up to Peddapet and could without much difficulty have gone on to the junction of the Indravati and Godavari and so to Maknur (65 B/NW D 5). This useful track should be kept in repair by the Forest Department. From Peddapet could be seen the high hills above Bhopalpatnam and Madder in Bastar State which I last visited in 1930.

Another problem confronting the Divisional Forest Officer is the number of small patches of revenue villages isolated in the middle of Mahadeopur and Singaram Ranges. Of these the only big village in Kanakanur (65 B/NW 66). I agree with him that every opportunity should be taken of converting these into forest villages, with some special status for existing *pattadars* superior to that of ordinary forest villagers. The details of the Divisional Forest Officer's scheme should be sent up as soon as possible. In this way not only would the Divisional Forest Officer's labour problem be solved, but also there would be somebody to take some interest in these rather miserable villages. At Nashtarpalli a fine forest rest house has been put up by the Divisional Forest Officer at a cost of only Rs. 500, this low cost having been made possible by using material rejected by forest contractors. On our way back we diverged from the route by which we had come to Katavaram (56 N/NE/F 5) and proceeded to Chintakani, where it had been proposed as a famine measure to spend Rs. 23,400 on restoring a large tank. We visited this tank, which had been completed at a cost of Rs. 60,000 several years ago, but had been since breached in eleven places. The soil is a light sandy soil and it is difficult to see how there can ever be a satisfactory bund. The trouble was largely due to the building of the bund without realising that

the overflow from an adjacent tank would hold up the flow from the wase-weir. To me this seems to be another case of the probable throwing away of good money after bad, like Anantaram. It would be a very unsuitable famine relief work because there is practically no drinking water available in this large village. The *ayacut* below the tank was never fully developed and the tree stumps are still standing from the abortive forest clearance ordered when the tank was completed. There was an abandoned irrigation bungalow at Chintakani which in a misguided moment we entered because the Divisional Forest Officer wanted it handed over to him to serve as a forest bungalow. The whole party just walked into the bungalow and out, to find their legs covered with fleas ; this certainly increased the willingness of the Superintending Engineer to hand the bungalow over to the Forest Department.

From Chintakani we motored *via* Korlakunta, where the tank was dry, to Dobalpadu (65 B/NW A 1), and there saw a number of people scooping pools in the dry tank bed in the hope of getting water. At Mutaram the P.W.D. had recently spent Rs. 8,000 on restoring a tank, but it is quite dry, and there had been practically no *abi* this year. A new well sunk by the local ryots had struck water at 30 feet, but it was full of lime. Konampet, a hamlet of Mutaram, is entirely inhabited by Koya. The Koya both at Peddapet and Konampet had completely lost their language, their singing and their dancing and all distinctive signs of Koya culture, and were indistinguishable from low Hindu castes. A number of Naikpod seen after leaving Rampur were finely built men, many with almost fuzzy hair and extremely primitive in type. They have nothing in common with Banjara and though found often in association with Koya are quite distinct from them. I have not found any mention of them in any book on ethnology though they are possibly what are described in old reports about South Chanda as Naik Gond. They are expert axe-men.

At Rampur recently the Veterinary Department held a successful show for local Banjara cattle. There is an Inspection Bungalow here. We visited the large Bhimghanpur tank, the waterspread of which had shrunk to a small area. In the dry tank bed there were a large number of women, Mannepod, Mala, Madaga and Naikpod by caste, beating the dry grass on the ground for seeds to make into *ambali* as they had no grain of any kind left. They were very emaciated and most of them were suffering from yaws.

Mr. Gopalan, the Superintending Engineer, had been in charge of the restoration of Bhimghanpur 27 years ago ; in the interval there has been no development in this large tank owing to a three-cornered dispute between the P.W.D., Forest and the Revenue Departments as to clearance of the Forest in the *ayacut* and *phodi* work. By luck I found this old pending case when inspecting the district office in January 1939. At long last a *phodi* party is at work. There had been no regular *abi* or *tabi* cultivation under this tank owing to there having been no *phodi*, and what area was cultivated has been treated as *siva-i-jamabandi*. The *ayacut* looks like a broad grassy peninsula in an ocean of jungle. There is much complaint of tigers ; there is dense jungle on the bund of the tank and tigers lie up there during the day, although all that we saw in this jungle were pea-fowl. The channels run on the right and left edges of the clearing, and it is complained that tigers come right up to the channel banks. It is obviously necessary to clear at least 100 yards on the outer sides of each of the two channels, both for this reason and to provide grazing land for the villagers. The final clearance of the *ayacut* (the Forest Department claims previously to have cleared it all 20 or 25 years ago) is at present providing famine work for about 80 men a day from Rampur and Nagaram. This area needs particular attention. The cattle show, to which the Banjara brought 400 or 500 cattle, should become an annual event, and as now that *phodi* is being done many people have expressed their willingness to take up land in the *ayacut*, the Rampur site should be laid out as a model village, and attention should be paid to Nagaram also. The present Taluqdar of Karimnagar has done what his predecessors in the last quarter of a century have failed to do, and is keen to see that at last there is proper development under this fine tank.

The track by which we motored from Chintakani to Bhimghanpur was very good, but the villagers along the route stated that they had not been paid for repairing it and whitewashing the stones along its edges before the Rampur Show. A few rupees might be distributed as payment in each village along the route out of famine funds. From Rampur we returned to the Mahadeopur-Parkal route at Kamlapur (56 N/SE F 1), and so via Parkal and Hanamkonda to Hyderabad.

(e) *Warangal Tour, August 1942.*

The Diwani Munsiff occupies a room in the combined

Samasthan offices at Paloncha. There are no quarters for his clerks, whom the D.S.P. has temporarily allowed to live in a part of the police lines, which may, however, at any time be required for the police. The estate is not in a position to pay for quarters for these Diwani clerks. Ultimately in my view there should be a Munsiff's court at Paloncha for dealing with such civil and criminal cases from the Yellandu and Borgampahad Diwani taluqs and Paloncha Samasthan as do not fall within the proposed judicial jurisdiction of Revenue Officers under the suggested Agency System, which is to be modelled on the system in force across the Godavari in the Partially Excluded Areas or Agency Tracts of the East Godavari district. When the collieries were being worked at Singareni a Special Magistrate was posted there primarily for dealing with civil and criminal cases from the colliery area. The Yellandu Munsifi has about 200 criminal and 200 civil cases a year from the Kothagudem colliery area alone, and I have no doubt that ultimately he must be transferred to Kothagudem ; a site has been reserved for his court and quarters in the new Kothagudem layout. He will have ample work from the Kothagudem area and the non-Agency portions of Yellandu Taluq. If the Agency System is adopted, then the Samasthan Tahsildar and Second Taluqdar as well as the Diwani Second Taluqdar and Tahsildars would be Agency Munsiffs and Magistrates, as in the Madras Agency Areas, and would be able to deal with criminal and civil cases in the widely scattered aboriginal villages on tour. The *samasthan* would also be saved from the necessity of paying for a separate judicial establishment.

The Munsiff drew my attention to what he believed to be the haphazard granting of free toddy tapping licenses to Koya in the Koya area ; in certain villages some of the Koya had received permits but others had not, and in trying cases of illicit tapping he had been unable to find out on what principle certain Koya accused had been refused the licenses that other Koya had received. The position should be clarified by the Excise Commissioner, as, according to the Secretariat file, rules for these licenses have not yet been approved. In my view no licenses should be granted to individuals, but collective licenses for each Koya settlement should be granted to the head Koya and the village elders, fixing the total number of trees to be tapped annually and leaving it to them to distribute those trees amongst individual Koya.

In the small area now irrigated under the Singabhpalam

Tank left channel there was formerly a Koya settlement, but when the Koya *abadi* was acquired and the site included in the *ayacut*, instead of being settled with the evicted Koya it was given in auction to a Marwari. These Koya are worth providing with land on special *laoni* terms, as they generally take land on *qaul* from *pattadars*. The Subedar of Warangal states that there are about 60 or 70 acres of *parampok* or *banjar* land in the area that will be brought into the *ayacut* by the extension of the left bank channel. This should be settled with these Koya without auction.

The D.F.O. of Khammammet spoke of the record auction in his forest division this year, which have realised an increase of Rs. 4 lakhs. The Forest Division has only one short forest road, a feeder to Karepalli railway junction. The re-adjustment of the Dummapet-Paloncha road which I have suggested elsewhere would be useful. There is only one forest village in the whole area. The forest guards however include some Koya and are not so preponderantly Muslim and urban as in some divisions. A proper housing programme for forest guards is needed here. The total area of the Forest Division is 930 sq. miles, of which 207 sq. miles have been finally reserved under Section 18 of the Forest Act, 473 sq. miles dealt with under Section 10, and 44 sq. miles notified under Section 7; about 208 sq. miles have yet to be dealt with under the Forest Act. Except in the areas surrounded by Paloncha Samasthan villages the *podu* question has not arisen, according to the D.F.O., but he is having some success in securing Koya co-operation in *taungya* teak plantation. This has also happened in Paloncha Samasthan. I saw one such plantation in Khammammet Division near Kothagudem, and another in the *samasthan* near Paloncha itself. There is a large Koya population in the villages in and around Khammammet Forest Division, except in the southern part of Madira Taluq. The working plan is under preparation.

(f) Warangal Tour, September 1944.

The Divisional Forest Officer of Khammammet, with reference to my remarks of last year about the employment of Koya on forest work or the extension to Khammammet Forest Division of the system whereby Koya themselves bid for bamboo and other coupes, as they have done so successfully in Paloncha Samasthan, told me that he had succeeded in getting a large number of Koya employed by forest con-

tractors on wages of Re. 1-4-0 or Re. 1-8-0 a day. But I particularly do not want these aborigines to get into economic thraldom to Madras forest contractors. Baron C. von Furer-Haimendorf in his reports has fully exposed the evil effects of this. I should like the Inspector-General of Forests, if Koya cannot be persuaded to take up forest coupes themselves on a basis similar to that so successful in Paloncha Samasthan, at least to push forward arrangements for departmental working of some areas in this Forest Division where Koya can be employed. Sixty-five out of the 71 forest guards in the Forest Division are still Muslims from towns. The D. F. O. is now endeavouring to appoint some local villagers.

(g) *Foreword to the Aboriginal Problem in Mulug and Narsam-pet Taluqs, a tour diary by Christoph von Furer Haimendorf, Ph.D., Adviser to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government for Tribes and Backward Classes. (Hyderabad, Government Press—1947).*

For the last five years H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have developed a firm policy of ameliorating the living conditions in forest tracts and removing those disabilities from which backward and illiterate populations suffer wherever and whenever the authorities fail to recognise their special need of protection against exploitation and oppression. Excellent progress has already been achieved in Adilabad, where the New Deal for the aborigines has transformed the atmosphere from one of resentful suspicion of Government into one of trust and enthusiastic co-operation between officials and Gond and other tribes. But the Tour Diary of the Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes printed in the following pages with some of my marginal notes—those for purely departmental use have been omitted—shows that in the tribal areas of Warangal District conditions leave still much to be desired. There the aborigines, and no doubt also members of other backward communities—notably the depressed classes and agricultural labourers generally—are still harassed by rapacious and unscrupulous petty officials, exploited by contractors and land-owners, and in many cases denied the elementary right of living in peace and security on their ancestral lands. The state of affairs exposed by this diary calls for immediate redress. The abuses thus revealed must be stopped before the disaffection of the oppressed flares up in violence. Hyderabad can be justly proud of its recent freedom from such tribal unrest as is disturbing the peace of some provinces of British India.

But this freedom and the undisputable loyalty of the Gond of Adilabad should not lead to complacency.

The experience gained in Adilabad District must be applied to the problems of backward populations in other parts of the State. Education and economic assistance must be given to all backward classes, be they Koya, Banjara, Multani Muslim, other backward Muslim, or Depressed Classes. In the tribal areas of Warangal District covered by Baron Haimendorf's recent tour a concerted effort to free the aborigines from oppression and raise their economic standards should not be deferred. This will need the co-operation of all departments—Revenue, Forest, Police, Medical, Educational and Co-operative—to effect a rapid and substantial improvement of living conditions.

As in Adilabad, the allotment of land under special *laoni* to members of backward communities will stand in the centre of the rehabilitation policy. The aborigines inhabiting the forest areas of Mulug and Narsampet Taluqs must be given sufficient cultivable land for their legitimate needs. In many places this will involve a shifting of forest lines, which as a rule should be not less than 350 yards away from the village sites. This shifting of lines will of itself reduce friction between petty forest officials and aborigines. Recruiting Koya and Naikpod forest-guards, and stopping *yetti* or *begar* are other measures to be taken by the Forest Department.

The innumerable *patti* and fees which are a constant drain on the forest dwellers' slender resources must be abolished or commuted, and a strict watch will have to be kept on forest and excise contractors, who are in the habit of extorting illegal fees and forcing the aborigines to do unpaid labour.

A purge among village-officers appears also overdue. The *watandari* system has its defects under all circumstances, as has been recently strikingly exemplified by the Nalgonda disturbances ; it is particularly ill-suited to tribal areas. Immediate steps should be taken to replace oppressive non-aboriginal *gumashta patwaris* and *patels* by aborigines or at least by persons trusted by the aboriginal villagers.

To check abuses and bring to book oppressive subordinates, contractors and village-officers will be the first responsibility of the district officers of all departments. But besides

extending justice and good administration to the remotest hamlet, we must plan the economic and social reconstruction of this long-neglected area. The allotment of land, education, and the co-operative organisation of marketing will form the corner-stones of the programme of rural rehabilitation ; and the recent posting of a Special Officer with a staff of social service workers at Mulug indicates Government's determination to bring effective relief to the inhabitants of the tribal areas of Warangal District.

CHAPTER V

MAHBUBNAGAR, NALGONDA, RAICHUR & AURANGABAD DISTRICTS.

(a) *Mahbubnagar Tour, February 1943.*

In my visit to Amrabad, Farhabad and the Chenchu I had the great benefit of the company of Baron C. von Fürer-Hamendorf and his wife, who had lived two years ago for six months among the Chenchu, and to whose recommendations the Chenchu Reserve Scheme is mainly due ; the Baron's book on the Chenchu is nearing publication. The pleasure of the Chenchu everywhere in seeing the Haimendorfs was a remarkable tribute to their success in making close and sympathetic contact with any tribe which they are studying.

The decision to transfer the Mannanur-Farhabad road to the P.W.D. was a mistake. Ever since the transfer the P.W.D. has been considering plans for making it a class I road, and consequently neither it nor the Forest Department has kept the existing road in decent repair. It is not justifiable to spend the best part of a lakh of rupees on this road (I think that it will cost more than a lakh), while the annual maintenance will be heavy.

Farhabad can never make a decent hill-station, as the water difficulty is, I believe, insuperable. The bore-well near the forest bungalow was useless, as the pump was out of action. The so-called wells at Pulliachelma must be properly reconstructed by the Forest Department, as, whether the hill-station scheme persists or not, these wells are essential for the Chenchu, the forest staff and for all visitors, though they yield only turbid yellow water. Money has been recently spent on Farhabad tank but the work abandoned unfinished, and there is not a drop of water in the tank ; it is almost impossible to get labour for this work. All that is now needed is to close the bund and put the tank under the Forest Department ; it might be of some use for watering cattle during the grazing season. The site chosen for the hill-station is a barren ridge strewn with boulders, and houses

there would spoil the magnificent view of the plain from the edge of the *khad*, looking over the Rasul Cheruvu.

One of the worst things against Farhabad is the utter boredom that would be the lot of the settlers ; it would be impossible on this stony dry plateau to make a golf course or other amenities, and even the raising of garden crops looks like an impossibility because of the lack of water. The only amenity would be motoring up and down the forest roads and spoiling the Chenchu by taking photographs of them or giving them doles of grain and cloth ; those who live near Farhabad are already being spoilt by such practices. In my view the hill-station scheme should frankly be abandoned and we should refuse finally to hand over any land to the Development Society.

The Chenchu scheme is not being properly implemented and is not adequate, in that it excludes from the benefits of the Chenchu Reserve those Chenchu who most need help, namely those living in conditions half-way between those of a forest tribe and of plains village menials in the wretched villages east of Amrabad.

The Chenchu store was actually started a few days before my visit, I am afraid in order to try and persuade me that something had been done to implement the scheme. This needs organizing on a better system, and probably by the Department best fitted for such work, the Co-operative Department. It had not been explained to the Chenchu that they could bring in all minor forest produce or *ghi* or baskets to this store and obtain in return either cash, grain, chillies, salt, onions or cloth : but simple talks with Chenchu at Malla-pur, Boramacheruvu and Pullaichelma Penta showed how quick they were to appreciate the scheme if it was clearly explained to them.

In this explanation valuable help was given by Idga, the Chenchu who has been appointed *chaukidar* of the forest rest house at Farhabad ; this shows clearly the value of appointing Chenchu as forest guards. To my astonishment I found that apart from this Chenchu *chaukidar* and one Chenchu watcher no local men are employed as forest guards by the Forest Department in the Amrabad range ; almost all come either from Mahbubnagar town or from Hyderabad. The Forest Department will never progress until it begins to recruit local people as its forest guards ; in an area such as the

Chenchu portions of Amrabad Range it is not necessary to insist upon literacy. These "foreigners" brought in here as forest guards invariably go sick, and often temporary substitutes are put in and paid half the pay of the permanent guard, who remains on leave for months at a time. Throughout the Range decent quarters are essential for deputy rangers, foresters and forest guards : not one forest guard has permanent quarters.

The forest is rather disappointing, though there are some fine *saja* and occasionally *shisham* and *bijasal* trees. Teak is somewhat rare, but the Forest Department is making steady efforts to establish plantations, with success varying with the annual rainfall. There seems to be no point in extending the forest road beyond Behrapur Cheruvu along the old pilgrims' road to Srisailam. The existing Chenchu Reserve is needlessly truncated by excluding from it the upper plateau north, roughly speaking, of a line running east and west of a mile or two south of Farhabad and Vattivelpalli. It should actually be extended up to Nalavagu and so include the whole of the upper plateau. It should also be made known to the Chenchu living west of the Reserve in Jatprol Samasthan that they too can benefit from the Chenchu Store, although actually there seems to be very little intercourse between the Jatprol Chenchu and the Amrabad Reserve Chenchu. The extension of the Chenchu Reserve will have very little effect upon the forest income derived from the Amrabad forests, as the total income from minor forest produce in the Range is only Rs. 4,000. All Chenchu throughout the forest should get the same privileges as Chenchu outside the Chenchu Reserve.

The Secretariat must take up with the Excise Department the question of *mahua* contracts in the Amrabad *thana* area. There should be no restriction on Chenchu collecting *mahua* and disposing of it to Government through the Chenchu Store ; in fact if they are encouraged in this probably the Excise Department will get far more *mahua* flowers brought to it by the Chenchu than under the present system. I should like also a note from the Excise Department on the extent to which Chenchus have been prosecuted in any area for selling the *mahua* which they are allowed to distil free for their own consumption. It is probably impracticable, at least in the areas where the Chenchu are mixed with other people, to impose restrictions on Chenchu passing on their *mahua* to their fellow-villagers, and I doubt whether we should take

any action except when the Chenchu sell liquor in big non-Chenchu villages such as Amrabad and Padra, or take it down for sale to the villages below the Ghats. The Excise Department itself might well appoint one or two Chenchu excise peons.

A journey down to the Krishna from Boramacheruvu, involving a steep descent of 1,500 feet in about 2 miles out of the 8 or 9 miles, repaid us with the magnificent scenery of the Krishna valley, which we reached at Yemlapaya Vagu, actually in Jatprol Samasthan. One Chenchu hut was seen at Yemlapaya where the Chenchu family had cultivated quite a large area with castor, *tilli* and tobacco ; but there can be few lonelier houses in India. One herd of cattle had been brought down to the river, but time did not permit us to visit the Chenchu shelters further upstream where many Chenchu come from the plateau to spend the hot weather, largely owing to the absence of water on the plateau. The forest here was very poor. We also visited the summer settlements of the Mallapur *penta* and the Pullaichelma *penta*.

The road from Mannanur to Amrabad remains a local fund road, is in a bad condition and needs thorough repair. The Nizam's State Railway runs a bus service from Mannanur to Amrabad, which is still the local medical, police and forest headquarters. The road must be taken over by the P.W.D. and extended to Padra.

Clearly a bolder reconstruction scheme is needed than the much published Chenchu Reserve scheme, which was a cut-down version of Baron Haimendorf's scheme, itself designedly framed on a limited scale. The number of forest Chenchu is very small, and, as observed in para 32, a scheme to help them only leaves out those Chenchu who most need help. Not only the Chenchu but all the villagers of the Amrabad plateau need help. Amrabad itself is badly affected by malaria, which tells on the health of the police and range staff, while the A. M. O. in charge of the fine modern dispensary there suffers from chronic malaria. Since the *tahsili* was shifted to Achampet there has been a tendency for the *tahsil* staff to take less interest in Amrabad and the plateau villages.

I should therefore like the Additional Secretary, Revenue (Rural Reconstruction), immediately, in consultation with the Taluqdar of Mahbubnagar, to work out for the new Rural

Welfare Trust an intensive rural welfare scheme for the whole of the Amrabad *thana* area, in which should be concentrated a team of representatives of all nation-building departments, possibly with headquarters at Mannanur. The whole team could be placed under an experienced Peshkar as Naib Tahsildar of Mannanur. Public Health work is badly needed in this locality, but, whether from ill-health or for other reasons, it has not yet been possible for the A. M. O. Amrabad to tour adequately. Therefore there should be a travelling dispensary for the villages, including the present Chenchu Reserve. The Chenchu Scheme should continue on an enlarged scale, but as a branch of the whole Amrabad Plateau Scheme, and its working should be taken out of the hands of the Forest Department, though the so-called Chenchu Officer (who considers his main function to be bee-keeping) might continue as now to work under the Forest Department and be the Forest Department representative in the Amrabad rural development team. So far as agriculture is concerned, efforts should be made to encourage those Chenchu who, as at Mannanur, are keen on obtaining lands and taking to regular cultivation, while the wilder Chenchu might be encouraged to grow root-gardens instead of having to spend their whole time digging for roots over the length and breadth of the forest ; Baigas in the Central Provinces have *kandabari* or root-gardens close to their villages.

In all dealings with the Chenchu (as with other forest tribes in these Dominions) the Rural Reconstruction Department and other officials can read with advantage Chapters XXXI-XXXIII of Baron Haimendorf's book *The Chenches of Hyderabad*. Of particular interest is the criticism of the well-intentioned but rather misguided schemes adopted by the Government of Madras for the "uplift" of the Chenchu on the south side of the river Krishna. There should be no attempt made to dragoon the forest Chenchu into large settlements in the forests or plains villages. Lastly I hope that the new Inspector-General of Forests will regard it as a special responsibility to read up all papers about the Chenchu Reserve and to see that the Forest Department does all possible to help in this matter. Schemes that on paper are excellent are useless if all that is done to implement them is some hurried eye-wash intended to deceive Members of Government when they visit the locality. It might also be seen whether the appointment by the Forest Department of the present Chenchu-cum-Bee-keeping Officer and the charging of his pay to the conservancy grant are

in order. This youth is a Coorgi non-*mulki*, and is not a matriculate. Even his bee-keeping, in which he is an expert, has been handicapped by his having had to bring his swarms of bees here from Hyderabad.

(b) *Nalgonda Tour, February 19th 1944.*

We motored along the Yelleshwaram road to the point just short of the Pedda Vagu and near Pedda Mangal up to which it has been completed. Pedda Mangal is without exception the dirtiest village which I have yet seen in the Nizam's Dominions : steps must be taken to clean it up. The village contains a forest range office. The villagers said that for the last six or seven years the Ranger had never occupied the building but resided in Devarkonda although paying rent for his quarters at Padda Mangal. The Inspector-General of Forests should report whether this was authorised. If it was, it was clearly unfair to recover rent ; if it was not, it should be considered whether Devarkonda is the better centre for the Range, in which case perhaps the building could be turned over to the Public Works Department as a rest-house. There are a few Chenchu in some of the adjacent villages, and one Chenchu *penta* in the forest hills between the Pedda Vagu and the Krishna.

(c) *Raichur Tour, April 1946.*

Sir Theodore Tasker described Deodrug ten years ago as a mean town. Seen from the roof of the old Bedar *kothi* at one end of the town, the masses of abandoned ruins justify the description. But the main streets from the Inspection Bungalow up to the *tahsili* are clean and well-kept ; the District Board has built a bridge and one or two causeways, so that buses can proceed right up to the *tahsili*. The *Dherwara* is picturesque with its houses almost terraced in tiers up the lower slopes of the rocky hill to the north of the road entering the town.

The Bedar *kothi* is now an almost complete ruin save for a portion let to Gaolis. A Bedar, who described himself as a descendant of a former Raja of Deodrug before the Shorapur Rajas captured Deodrug and who has still an *umli* village paying a small quit rent to the Government, implied that the modern Bedar were completely hinduised, Brahmin *purohits* being employed by the average Bedar. There are no Bedar employed locally as peons or constables, it being

said that the Bedar regards it as beneath his dignity to take service in an area where he was formerly a Raja. The weekly market was full of Bedar, who in clothing, appearance and status seemed hardly distinguishable from the rest of the market crowd.

Aurangabad Tour, 1943.

The country between Kannar and Outram *Ghat* and between Satkund and Pithalkora is a pleasant plateau country interspersed with high hills, including Sarpala (3144 feet above the sea), the highest point in the State. The villages all have a large number of Banjara, who mostly claim to be of Rajput origin as distinct from Mathura Banjara, and at every village the men turned out to dance ; unlike the Mathura Banjara, these Banjara men and women do not dance together. Most of the villages have one or two Bhil houses, and there are larger concentrations of Bhil in a few centres such as Kannar itself, Upla and Andhner. In features both the Bhil and the Banjara seem to be a very mixed lot with features varying from hook-nosed Aryan to flat-nosed Gond types. Another strong element in the population was a caste describing itself as Thakur, which to me looked not unlike many of the Korku of the Melghat, who would describe themselves as Mawasi Thakur ; everyone speaks Marathi. A large number of cultivators hold land on *batai* from one big Muslim cultivator who has land in many villages and regards all the villagers as his *asami*.

But there seems to be no real "aboriginal" problem ; the Bhil are few and scattered, the Banjara are hinduised, and all the tribes have adapted themselves to their environment. There is however a general "feel" of backwardness and neglect around Kannar. There is a great deal of sickness apparent, children especially being disfigured by sores, many persons suffering from guinea-worm, while malaria is everywhere prevalent. The requests made in the villages passed through were nearly all for wells, repairs to temples and schools. A public health survey of Kannar Taluq should be taken in hand at once by the Public Health Department at the cost of the District Board, and I should like a note from the Inspector of Schools on the educational position.

(e) Aurangabad Tour, 1946.

On September 13th, 1946, when visiting Ajanta from Khuldabad we walked down from the viewpoint above the

Ajanta gorge to the Caves, visiting on the way the Koli village of Lenapur. In this village practically every Koli is economically under the thumb of absentee landlords, especially a Brahman *patwari* living at Fardapur ; nearly all the land here is cultivated by Koli share-croppers living in Lenapur for this Brahman and other absentee Hindu *pattadars*.

Enquiry into the working of the grain levy system showed that nevertheless the Koli sharecroppers had been made to pay the full levy out of their share of the produce, nothing being recovered from the *pattadars*' share of the produce. Although Government had handed over full payment for the levy to the *patwari* he had kept all the money and not paid a single Koli cultivator. This *patwari* must be very severely dealt with immediately.

It has hitherto been held that such Koli as there are in the State could not really now be regarded as aborigines. If Lenapur is typical of the few Koli villages that are scattered amongst the Ajanta Hills, this opinion should be revised, and any measures for the rehabilitation of the Bhil tribe in Aurangabad District should be extended to the Koli. Time prevented any detailed investigation, but the impression left upon my mind was of a darkskinned aboriginal tribe, with considerable admixture of non-aboriginal blood, economically little better than serfs, but preserving in some degree their own tribal customs and individuality. In the old records the words Nahal, Bhil and Koli are commonly used together as a generic term for the former hill robbers of Khandesh and the Ajanta Hills. The physical appearance also of several Koli confirms the idea advanced by Bilgrami and Wilmott at pp. 309-10 of Volume I of their Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions that they are a "mongrel race" partly sprung from alliances between Hindus and aborigines.

CHAPTER VI.

A TRIBAL POLICY FOR HYDERABAD.¹

The conditions prevalent in the culturally backward areas of India, that is to say, generally speaking, amongst the tribal populations of India, have received much attention in recent years. This has been stimulated by the enactment of the provisions in the Government of India Act of 1935 relating to partially excluded areas and the special responsibilities of provincial Governors for those areas and for minorities, reinforced by certain directions in the Royal Instrument of Instructions to Governors. Clause IX of the Instrument directs Governors to secure that those classes of the people under their charge who by reason of their small numbers or primitive conditions or lack of educational and material advantages or from any other cause, cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action in the Legislature shall not suffer, or have reasonable cause to fear, neglect or oppression"; Clause XV directs a Governor, if he thinks that this course would enable him better to discharge his duties to the inhabitants of partially excluded areas, or to *primitive sections of the population elsewhere*, to " appoint an officer with the duty of bringing their needs to his notice and advising him regarding measures for their welfare."

The criticism is frequently expressed that these special provisions and the subsequent special steps taken under them were designed to "create a new minority," and failed to realize that many of the special measures recommended for aboriginal India were equally necessary in other parts of India for the untouchables or even for the ordinary peasantry. There is of course no question of the *creation* of a new minority, but equally there is a strong intention not to overlook the fact that in most parts of India there is *already in existence* as a minority a substratum of what, for want of a more precise term, are generally referred to as aboriginal tribes, socially organised still on an ancient tribal basis, retaining languages otherwise submerged by the Aryan or modern

I. This Chapter reproduces my foreword to *Tribal Hyderabad*, by Baron C. von Fider-Haunendorf (Hyderabad, 1945).

Dravidian speech of the advanced populations that have displaced them in the open country, and still clinging to an ancient way of life radically different in many respects from the life of the ordinary Indian village and town. Driven as they have been by man or by circumstances into the hills and the backwoods and the malaria belt, these backward peoples are a real minority, and present a real problem to the Indian administrator, educationist and politician. For with the increasing pressure of population on the better lands there is a growing demand for the opening up of the aboriginal lands to modern methods of cultivation, while the fact that those lands contain not only many of the best forests in India but also some of her richest mineral deposits every year increases the economic and other contacts of the backwoodsman with the modern world. Without any education to fit him to stand up to this culture-contact or invasion, everywhere the tribesman is in grave danger of being suddenly cast adrift from all his cultural and social anchorages upon the waters of the social, economic and industrial revolution in progress elsewhere in India. The results are well-known and have been summarised for the general reader in a number of recent pamphlets, for the more serious political and social worker in various provincial reports, and for the sociologist and anthropologist in a succession of scientific monographs on individual tribes.

In particular nearly every Province of India which has partially excluded areas has in recent years conducted official investigations into the conditions prevalent in those areas. Mention need here be made only of the Symington Report on the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes of the Partially Excluded Areas in the Province of Bombay (Bombay 1940), the Report of the Partially Excluded Areas Committee, Orissa, 1940, and my own Report *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar* (Nagpur 1944). In the last chapter of my Report I attempted in paragraphs 468-473 to summarise the recent steps taken in India outside the Central Provinces and Berar to improve the conditions of the aboriginal, and in paragraphs 476-8 to point out the real value to India of partial exclusion of backward areas from the full operation of modern constitutions.

It is of course a fact that many of the measures that are recommended for the backward areas are equally necessary in areas not so backward, and that often the conditions of the peasantry in distressed areas or of the landless labourer and

the untouchables almost everywhere call for great improvement. Yet no one who sees the modern Mahar townsman of a city like Nagpur and compares him with a Gond in the Ramtek forest tract of the Nagpur district can ever be in any real doubt but that the Mahar is far more able than the Gond to hold his own in modern India. Moreover the Untouchables under the name of Scheduled Castes have achieved for themselves effective political recognition as a major minority throughout British India, and it is reasonable to believe that the days of Untouchability are gradually becoming numbered. That is unfortunately not the case with the disabilities of the aboriginal, who still everywhere is fighting a losing battle against loss of land and relegation to hopeless helotry. (I have seen places where aborigines are badly exploited by members of the Scheduled Castes).

The literature of our Hyderabad tribal populations has in recent years been enriched by Baron Christoph von Fürer Haimendorf's fine scientific studies. *The Chenchus* and *The Reddis of the Bison Hills*, while he has under preparation a third study, which may be his most important anthropological work, on the Raj-Gond of Adilabad. The Hyderabad Census Report for 1941 contains an admirable essay¹ by him *The Tribal Populations of Hyderabad Yesterday and Today*. I have also myself attempted in my foreword² to *The Chenchus* a general survey of Hyderabad's tribal populations. But so far no official or other publication has concentrated on the present material conditions and administrative problems of the tribal areas of this State. When the war stranded the Haimendorfs in India, the Government of Hyderabad were fortunate to be able to secure the services of so distinguished an ethnologist to tour the backward areas of this State and to write not only scientific monographs on individual tribes but also a series of administrative reports on the conditions actually prevalent in those areas.

The first of such reports was the basis for the administrative steps taken to protect the Chenchu of Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda Districts summarised in Appendix VIII of *The Chenchus*. As the substance of that report is included in Chapters XXX-XXXIII of *The Chenchus* it has not been reproduced in *Tribal Hyderabad*. But the volume reproduces four other important administrative reports compiled by Dr. Haimendorf, his 1940 notes on the Hill Reddi

1. Available also as a separate publication of the Government Central Press, Hyderabad.

2. Reproduced as Chapter I above.

in the Samasthan of Paloncha, his 1943 note on the conditions of aborigines in the Samasthan of Paloncha and the taluqs of Paloncha and Yellandu in Warangal District, his 1943 note on the aborigines of the Asifabad, Rajura and Utnur taluqs of Adilabad District, and his later tour notes of the same year on the aborigines of the Both, Kinwat and Adilabad taluqs of that district.

These notes, particularly the notes on Adilabad District, contain a great deal of unpleasant reading about an unpleasant state of affairs, which is not a credit to Hyderabad. It was therefore for consideration whether they should be published only as a confidential publication designed to focus the attention of officials in all Departments on one of the most difficult and vital administrative problems of the State. But it was thought that this would be carrying official reticence too far. The problems of the Hyderabad aboriginal areas are in kind exactly similar to the problems of aboriginal areas elsewhere in India. The Symington Report, my Central Provinces Report and the writings of Verrier Elwin and others have familiarised the world with the deplorable conditions under which the aborigines suffer elsewhere in India. Moreover this Government have embarked upon a policy of bettering the conditions in their tribal areas, and already some of the steps taken in pursuance of that policy, e.g., to restore to the aborigines the use of their traditional lands and to grant them *patta* rights and other protection, have led to misplaced criticism in the press and elsewhere : a misunderstanding is being created, largely by wrong information deliberately supplied by those agencies which have for so long profited by the exploitation of the aboriginal helot. Conditions in fact in the tribal areas of Hyderabad differ only from those in the Central Provinces in that in the Hyderabad areas till recently no determined effort had been made by district officials to keep their subordinates in check and prevent the extortion by them from the aborigines of *mamul*, *begar*, *rasad* and bribes or to fight the exploitation (with their connivance) of the aborigines by cleverer immigrants, such as the Banjara, the Maratha, the Brahman, the Muslim, the *sahukar* and the *vakil*, the less scrupulous among whom have long found in the tribal areas a happy hunting ground. The reports must therefore speak for themselves to as wide a circle in Hyderabad as possible. I have supplemented them by a detailed index, and those who doubt the justice of my words needs only start looking up some of the references against such subjects as aborigines (loss of land,

absentee landlords, allotment of land, exploitation of aborigines, expropriation of aborigines), extortion, forced labour, dancing, forests (especially the sub-heads boundaries, contractors, minor produce, rates and subordinates), lawyers, migrations, *patels*, *patwaris*, police, rack-renting, *rasad* and *watandari* officers and system.

The publication of these reports thus has as its primary object the stimulation of official and public opinion towards the support of the measures already taken and the further measures contemplated for improving conditions in the tribal areas. Their lessons should also be felt in non-tribal areas elsewhere in the State where villagers suffer from the unchecked oppression of that bad minority of the *deshmukhs*, *watandars* and *sahukars*, who thereby bring discredit on their order as a whole. The Press and political bodies have in recent months drawn attention to such tyrannies in various parts of Telingana. But the tribal areas, where the local bully has the freest scope, are less in the public eye and have less news value, and the offender there is perhaps more often a subordinate official than a *watandar* or a *sahukar*. What the public has to appreciate moreover is that all those on whose malpractices light is shed by these reports are themselves members of the public : in the ultimate analysis their malpractices can only be stopped by the growth of a strong and healthy public opinion condemning their injustices and insisting upon as a good treatment for the man of the backwoods as for the man of the city ; it is a problem similar to that of checking bribery and corruption in food and supply work. But in the tribal areas the cancer is far older and more deeply rooted, and its eradication involves more specialised operations.

Accordingly proposals¹ are now being made by the Revenue Department for the introduction, in areas to be notified as Tribal Areas, of a simplified system of administration based upon the Agency System so long in vogue in parts of the Ganjam and Korapat Districts of Orissa and the Vizagapatam and East Godavari Districts of Madras. Our uniform application to the whole State of such things as the system of *watandari* village officers and the separation of the judicial and the executive may have been sound in the State as a whole but in some respects harmful in the tribal areas. Thus the reader of these reports will see how the non-aboriginal

^{1.} See the Tribal Areas *Dastur-ul-Amal* 1356 F. in the Appendix for the legislation resulting from these proposals.

watandar has time and time again been responsible for gradual expropriation of aborigines from their land. In another way the *watandari* system has failed in tribal areas. Often non-aboriginals have secured the *watans*, not of single villages, but of a score or more villages, occasionally even of whole *taluqs*. Then they have not themselves worked as *patels* or *patwaris* but have had the work done by underpaid and untrained *gumashtas* working for six or seven villages and residing in none of them. These absentee *gumashtas* have supplemented their earnings by extorting money or land from the ryots. Their village returns have often been compiled without spot inspections, and they have failed to inform either their *watandar* masters or the district authorities about village conditions. In the monsoon months of 1939, for example, when after a long break in the rains famine suddenly confronted the Gond of the interior, no warning came to the authorities from the *gumashtas* and the first sign of distress was the sudden descent from the hills to the towns of hordes of hungry Gond and Kolam. In backward forest tracts, where men are poor and ignorant and distances great, justice delayed or justice that is not cheap is justice denied. What are needed are touring officers combining executive and judicial powers, able to punish the tyrant or the exploiter on the spot. The transfer of revenue officers' judicial powers to distant, non-touring judicial courts has meant that the touring officers are largely impotent to give immediate relief against oppression, while aboriginal victims of the oppressor cannot face the heavy expenditure, the waste of time and the psychological disturbance involved by recourse to the distant, dreaded, uncongenial courts.

A beginning has meanwhile been made with other ameliorative steps. The Chenchu policy outlined in Appendix VIII of *The Chenchus* has been further developed into a scheme for the rural betterment of all the peoples, tribal and non-tribal, of the whole Amrabad plateau, financed by the Rural Welfare Trust. The second of the two reports on conditions amongst the Hill Reddi and the Koya indicates the considerable degree of success already attained there in controlling forest contractors and otherwise amending forest and administrative policy. In Adilabad District there has been a partial overhaul of the administrative personnel; a special officer for the aboriginal areas with headquarters at Marlavai in Utnur Taluq has been appointed, and a decision come to in regard to areas to be retained as forest or leased for distribution among the aboriginal cultivators in *patta*.

right ; already *pattas* have been granted for many thousands of acres. (It is this distribution especially that seems to have upset certain apple-carts and produced allegations in the Press and elsewhere of the type already referred to). Above all, the Haimendorfs' work in establishing a training centre for aboriginal teachers at Marlavai and basing upon it a network of aboriginal schools is expanding rapidly. Marlavai has even turned out roughly trained Gond able to work as *gumashtha patwaris*, and with the appointment also by the Inspector-General of Forests of some aborigines as forest watchers and guards the aboriginal has begun to think that the Government may be his Government after all ; there is at least a new spirit of hope in the district.

Let us hope therefore that these reports will be widely read and will help not only to build up public opinion but also to show our district officers the type of evil that it is their duty to eradicate, and the possible lines along which they may guide the aboriginal to become a sturdy, self-reliant and valuable subject of His Exalted Highness. The reports can be read with considerable advantage by revenue, police and forest officers in the non-tribal districts also, for there too in the tracts remote from the bus and the train the local bully lords it over the ignorant and must be brought to heel if all alike are to secure the benefits of justice and good administration.

Let us lastly remember gratefully the unremitting labour (at the expense of fatigue, fever and hardship, and to the detriment often of scientific research) that have gone to the making of these reports, labour shared alike by Baron Haimendorf and his wife. Not content with the writing of his books and reports, they have steadily gone ahead with educational experiment, relief work, and suggestions for administrative reform. After the Baron's temporary appointment in the service of the Crown elsewhere in India, instead of spending their recess in well-earned rest, they returned to Adilabad in the bad monsoon months of 1944 to watch the progress of the work. Not the least of their services to the aborigines of the Deccan is their setting of this high standard of personal effort in the cause of the lowly.

We have no time to lose in putting our aborigines on their feet and enabling them to face the modern world as sturdy, self-reliant citizens. Post-war plans involve the foundation of a great industrial city on the banks of the

Godavari where Adilabad and Karimnagar Districts now meet, and further exploitation of the forests, the coal-fields and the other minerals of Adilabad. This fine aboriginal human material must not be regarded as mere grist for the mills of industry. The imminence of these new developments makes it imperative without delay to arrest the present " loss of nerve " among the aborigines and to do all possible to restore and strengthen their self-respect.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ABORIGINAL IN THE FUTURE INDIA.

A paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1946.

This paper deals primarily with the aborigines of the highlands and plains of Central and Southern India, and not with the hill-tribes of Assam, about which Professor Hutton spoke in the Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute which he delivered in June, 1945. I wish first to examine the safeguards provided for the aborigines in British India under the constitution of 1935; there are no *legal* safeguards for the aborigines of any Indian State.

The Government of India Act provided for the partial exclusion from its operation of certain backward areas principally inhabited by primitive tribes. These areas had, under the 1919 constitution and before, been subject to practically the same administrative, judicial and legislative machinery as the rest of India. The partial exclusion provisions could, therefore, easily be misinterpreted as detracting from the full provincial autonomy which the Act purported to effect, and in the political temper than prevalent in India, they were inevitably bitterly criticized as betraying distrust of the Indian's capacity to administer, to treat minorities fairly, and to do as much as his British predecessors to protect the aboriginal.

The relevant schedule of the constitutional Bill as originally drafted listed few areas for partial exclusion. A back-bench revolt, unexpected by the Government Whips, led to a wide extension of the list. The revolt sprang from the deeply-felt apprehension of a private member who in shooting expeditions in the central highlands had learnt to love the aborigines and resent their exploitation by their neighbours. Faced by it, the Government referred the schedule back to India, to be revised and extended in the light of the parliamentary debate, and after obtaining the views of district officers. But the whole enquiry had to be rushed, to avoid further delay in the already protracted passage of the Bill, and the views of anthropologists were not obtained.

The hurriedly revised schedule that resulted was naturally not altogether happy. Although Mr. Mills of the Assam cadre of the I.C.S., an administrator with an anthropological bias, was placed on special duty to examine the recommendations of districts and provinces, he had no personal knowledge of tribal areas outside Assam, and the time-limit made it impossible for him to tour. He had, therefore, to judge each recommendation by the criteria of the numbers of the tribes in each area, and of their relative backwardness as reported by officials and governments ; and he was under the practical necessity of scheduling only compact areas of reasonable size, with boundaries clearly definable in a legal enactment. The resultant Government of India despatch, with the district and provincial recommendations, was presented to Parliament in January, 1936, and the schedule recommended in the despatch became law. In the Central Provinces and Berar only 833,000 out of the 2,990,000 aborigines lived in the areas selected for partial exclusion, a somewhat inadequate translation into effect of Parliament's intentions.

The storm of criticism that burst in India failed to consider the legal results of partial exclusion. Under the Constitution, the executive authority of a Province extends to partially excluded areas in it, and they are to be administered by Ministers in the same way as the rest of the province, subject only to two special responsibilities imposed on the Governor for (a) safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, and (b) the peace and good government of those areas. It is laid down that a Governor, when his special responsibilities are concerned, shall exercise "his individual judgement" and this is further defined in his Instrument of Instructions as meaning that he should normally be "guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless in his opinion so to be guided would be inconsistent with the fulfilment" of his special responsibilities or "with the proper discharge of any function which he is otherwise by or under the Act required to exercise in his individual judgement." The Instrument further directs him "to be studious so to exercise his powers as not to enable his Ministers to rely upon his special responsibilities in order to relieve themselves of responsibilities which are properly their own." It is clear that ministerial executive authority over the partially excluded areas was thus complete, unless any step taken should adversely affect "legitimate" rights of minorities, or tend to disturb peace and good government : the initiative rested with the Ministers.

The chief constitutional difference between partially excluded areas and the rest of a province lies in the legislative field; in which there are two special provisions. First, even though a Bill of the Central or a Provincial Legislature becomes law, it has no effect in a partially excluded area unless the Governor by notification so directs, and in so directing he may order that the Act concerned shall apply to the area subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. Secondly, the Governor is empowered to make Regulations for the peace and good government of any partially excluded area. Clearly the Governor would normally use these special powers on his Ministers' advice. The powers are valuable indeed to Ministers, for by their use they can avoid having to draft the cumbersome additions that would be necessary in every Bill to meet the special difficulties of the backward areas, for which a provision needed in advanced areas may be quite unsuited.

For instance, a major item in the Congress Ministry's legislative programme for the Central Provinces was their 1939 Tenancy Bill, which, in order to improve rural credit in the province generally, sought to remove legal checks on the transfer of tenancy holdings. The debates on the Bill recognised that this freedom of transfer would be fatal for aboriginal tenants who were already steadily losing their lands to creditors and others ; but to avoid delay in passing the Bill, the Ministry decided to leave the special case of the aborigines to be covered by modifications or exceptions in the subsequent notification applying the Act to the partially excluded areas. It was, of course, peculiarly unfortunate in this case that those areas contained less than a third of the aborigines of the province, the areas where they are most rapidly being dispossessed not being partially excluded. That points to an important necessity in every province, an amendment of the provincial General Clauses Act to empower Ministers to exercise in any other notified backward areas powers in respect of the application of new laws similar to those exercisable by Governors in the partially excluded areas.

The value of the Governor's power of making Regulations for the peace and good government of partially excluded areas may be seen from the Madras Regulation of 1940 to abolish debt bondage and to control unskilled labour agreements in the partially excluded areas.

Typical of the bitter criticism of these constitutional provisions, and perhaps first off the mark, were the majority of the Indian Legislative Assembly in February, 1936. They condemned exclusion after a debate in which, as Verrier Elwin says, "otherwise intelligent persons declared that the excluded areas were a trick of the anthropologists to preserve the aborigines as museum specimens for the exercise of 'their blessed science.'¹" In the same year, the Indian National Congress, meeting at Faizpur, denounced exclusion as "yet another attempt to divide the people of India into different groups, with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment, to obstruct the growth of uniform democratic institutions in the country," and as "intended to leave out the larger control, disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas, and keep their inhabitants apart from India for their easier exploitation and suppression." At Haripura, in 1938, the Congress virtually repeated this resolution, and there were debates on exclusion in most provincial legislatures. The Bombay 1938 debate was typical : speakers again accused anthropologists of promoting exclusion so as to use the areas concerned as museums in which to study the aborigines as exhibits, and indignantly denied that aborigines needed protection against other Indians, who were their own kith and kin.

Elwin suggested that because of this attitude the actual result of partial exclusion had probably been to destroy any real chance of protection. He considered that partial exclusion gave very little help to the aboriginal, who lived under the ordinary system of government, exposed to every form of political and social propaganda, and with all local facilities controlled by district councils composed mainly of the very people who had risen in the world by exploiting him. "He has the vote, but little idea of how to use it. At the last elections some of the aborigines went to the polls believing it was something to do with the land revenue ; some went to worship Mahatma Gandhi ; others abstained because they were not ordered to go by the local officials."²

I disagree with this verdict upon the exclusion policy, however, because of its inherent constitutional value, already described ; because of the enquiries to which it has given rise ; because through them it is producing the first tentative

1. *Loss of Nerve*, Bombay, 1941, p. 8.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

approach to a defined permanent policy ; and because it has stimulated Indian public opinion to realise the existence of the aboriginal problem. It was, of course, a hurried improvisation, and was not supported by propaganda ; it left outside the partially excluded areas masses of those aborigines most exposed to exploitation and culture-contact, who consequently remain unprotected save for the paternalism of local officers, their own so far undeveloped use of the vote, and the Governor's special responsibility for safeguarding their legitimate interests as a minority. Some Indian publicists have since denied them the status of a minority, a denial abetted by most British utterances about the future of India, which say much about Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Untouchables, but nothing about aborigines.

Partial exclusion is producing, above all, a groping towards a definite policy, lacking in the past. There was force in the argument advanced during the Haripura Congress debate on exclusion by Babu Rajendra Prasad. He said that while nobody objected to safeguarding the aborigines' rights and all would be glad to see everything done to raise them educationally, socially and economically, they were not persuaded that the provisions contained in the constitution would really improve their position or better their lives. The constitutional provisions will not indeed do so, unless they make government and politicians realise present conditions and formulate a programme for improving them.

The criticism recently applied by Mr. Leonard Barnes¹ to indirect rule in Africa, to the effect that aimlessness seems to be the main characteristic of the scheme of indirect rule and even of the conception of trusteeship, has always been applicable to the administration of most of the aboriginal areas of India. Some provinces did more for them than others. The Central Provinces Government did much between 1861 and 1935 to enforce law and order, to secure tribal title in land and to save the tribes from the tyranny of the liquor-seller and the worst exploiters ; generally speaking, it administered the tribal areas with benevolent and paternal autocracy. Yet it did almost nothing to investigate their living conditions or their psychology, and it passed no laws in their interests except the feeble Land Alienation Act of 1916, a chapter of the Land Revenue Act of 1917 protecting headmen and village lessees, a few provisions of tenancy law,

1. *Soviet Light on the Colonies*, Penguin Special, 1944, p. 40.

and a section of the Berar Land Revenue Code restricting alienation of some aborigines' land. No special provisions were made for local government institutions in tribal areas. Excise laws were drafted under the influence of the Hindu and Muslim repugnance for alcohol that is so alien to aboriginal ideas, and led to thousands of aborigines being jailed or fined for offences against excise rules quite beyond their comprehension. Almost no social services were provided in tribal areas, not deliberately, but because the Government allowed itself to be defeated by difficulties of language, climate, isolation and the reluctance of town-bred youths to serve in these (to them) uncongenial and alien backwoods and mountains.

Many Indians, avid for the sweeping away by "democracy" of divisions of race and nationality, so as to generate "the utmost dynamic force in society as an aggregate of men"¹ and widen as much as possible "the symbiotic circle of the individual,"² are keenly interested in the results of, and the ideas underlying, the Russian treatment of the tribes of Central Asia. The basic principle of this treatment is that all uncivilized peoples are the reserves which democracy should mobilize by striving to bring them to the same level of culture and civilisation as the most advanced Russians. Such Indians see that their 25 million aborigines are, democratically speaking, the most defective and ineffective of their backward fellow-Indians and therefore a brake on the attainment of democracy ; they therefore feel that they can no longer tolerate a static, aimless or overcautious aboriginal policy.

The expedients of partial exclusion and special responsibilities for the first time led to official attempts to define the aims of aboriginal policy. The Secretary of State and provincial Governors felt that if they were effectively to discharge these special responsibilities, special enquiries must be made into aboriginal conditions. From a different angle, Ministers realised that they too must know more of the aborigines if they were to avoid the interference of the Governor in discharge of his special responsibilities ; they were also responsive to the awakening, by the exclusion controversy, of public opinion to the aboriginal problem. The Secretary of State informed Governors that Parliament was

1. Panikkar, *Caste and Democracy*, 1933, p. 28.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 29.

uneasy as to the method of securing the knowledge on which the proper discharge of these responsibilities would depend, and suggested the appointment of selected officers as advisers for the partially excluded areas, to keep Governors and Ministers informed of their needs. The Instrument of Instructions¹ also enjoined this, and extended the field of the proposed adviser to the primitive tribes outside the partially excluded areas.

Action followed, everywhere. In Orissa the Congress Ministry appointed a Partially Excluded Areas Committee. Though this body urged the abolition of partial exclusion, it did recommend the formation of a welfare department for the primitive tribes under a selected officer and three assistants, aided by an Advisory Board and annual grants, supplemented by a yearly central grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for ten years. Bihar, in 1939, appointed a special officer for Chhota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas, with an Advisory Board ; it is interesting that this occurred under pressure from the aboriginal members of the provincial legislature. Just before their resignation late in 1939, the Central Provinces and Berar Ministry were considering forming a department for the "uplift" of both Untouchables and aborigines (not a sound combination, the psychological background of the two categories being so different). Then all the Congress Ministers in India resigned. But the Governors went ahead ; reports were published, after enquiry, by selected officers in Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar, and for the smaller partially excluded areas of Bengal and the United Provinces. Madras extended the scope of its Labour Commissioner's work to tribal welfare, and now publishes an annual report on aboriginal tribes and backward communities. Bengal has appointed one of the Members of the Board of Revenue as tribal adviser. In Assam, Mr. J. P. Mills has been appointed Adviser for the tribal areas. But it is unfortunate not only that the suspension of the constitution in so many provinces has dissociated political parties from the drawing up and execution of policy in the light of the various reports, but also that war preoccupations and the natural hesitation of caretaker governments to embark on important new policies have meant little positive action on the reports of the special officers and advisers.

Meanwhile, however, the results of the provincial enquiries and of the stimulation of public interest have extended

i. In Instruction XV.

to the Indian States. Travancore has appointed a Protector of Backward Classes and placed her tribes under the special tutelage of the Forest Department. Mysore has embarked on a special policy. The Political Department has stimulated attention to the protection and betterment of aborigines throughout the Eastern States, and has begun active measures for helping the Bhil and other tribes in the Dangs estates of the Gujarat Political Agency. Lord Wavell has commended generally to Indian States the recommendations of some of the provincial reports ; indeed Indore and other States seem more likely to implement those recommendations in the near future than the provinces from which they emanated. Since 1940 Hyderabad has set an example to India by associating an anthropologist, Baron Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, with the problem. He is not only publishing under the auspices of the Nizam's Government a series of studies of the tribes of the Deccan, but has also furnished that Government with administrative reports on the conditions of the local aborigines. Aided by his wife he has set going at Marlavai in the Gond country, with Government grants, a centre for training Gond teachers and social workers for a rapidly expanding network of aboriginal schools. Fürer-Haimendorf is likely soon² to be formally appointed Tribal Adviser to the Hyderabad Government and inaugural Professor of Anthropology in the Osmania University. Finally the Bonai, Keonjhar and Pal Lahara States of Orissa, at the Resident's suggestion, in 1942 employed Verrier Elwin as anthropologist to advise on tribal *jhuming*, on the preservation of the valuable elements of tribal culture, and on the development of social services in tribal areas. He has recently been appointed Honorary Ethnographer by the Government of Orissa.

These developments lead us to ask what has been and is being done for Anthropology in India. Applied anthropology is only now beginning to be brought to bear on Indian problems. Even in anthropological research immense leeway has to be made up. For long nothing had been done except the issue under the auspices of the old Government of India Ethnographic Survey of the well-known provincial volumes on Tribes and Castes. The late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy¹ rightly described them as mere general and superficial surveys, descriptive catalogues or ethnographic glossaries which might provide some basis for the more intensive studies essential as materials for science. Roy was among Indians the pioneer

1. These appointments were made in 1945-6.

2. In *Man in India* Vol. I, p. 43.

anthropologist, not only with his published studies of Chhota Nagpur tribes, but also by virtue of a lifetime of devoted service to those tribes and by founding and editing till his death the journal *Man in India*. My own book, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, published in 1938, was the first detailed study, I believe, of any section of the Gond or of any central Indian tribe. Since then we have had Verrier Elwin's studies of the Baiga and the Agaria, his *Maria Murder and Suicide*, and his collections of tribal songs and folklore, shortly to be followed by a book on the Muria and their youth dormitories; as co-editors he, R. C. Roy and W. G. Archer I.C.S., the author of a book on Oraon folk-song, continue the publication of *Man in India*, despite financial difficulties. Fürer-Haimendorf has published studies of the Chenchu and the Hill Reddi, and will soon have completed two volumes on the Hyderabad Gond; these, and Rivers' well-known book on the Toda, are, I believe, the only detailed studies of southern Indian tribes. The Tribes and Castes volumes for the Mysore, Travancore and Cochin States, which have appeared long after the old provincial compilations and are the work of Indian scholars, are of a far higher standard than the provincial series. In recent years, at last, Indian anthropologists have been studying the Kol, Gond, Pardhan, Korku, Bhil and other tribes, though unfortunately, being tied to teaching in universities, they have often relied too much on "tip-and-run" visits and have published without sustained field-work.

The teaching of anthropology in Indian universities is progressing and beginning to weaken political prejudice against anthropology, even if one or two recent works have played to the political gallery. Standards should be higher, and the stimulus of more foreign anthropologists working in India is needed. There are now anthropological schools in Calcutta, Patna, Benares, Lucknow, Madras, Bombay and Mysore Universities, and Osmania hopes soon to inaugurate one. Anthropological teaching is conspicuously lacking at Nagpur, the university of the ethnologically so important Central Provinces. Little encouragement, perhaps for lack both of funds and of appreciation of the value of anthropology, has been given by Indian universities to research divorced from teaching. Nagpur has granted a post-graduate scholarship to an investigator of Gond sociology and Bombay has encouraged Miss Bhagwat's researches into the general tribal culture of the Central Provinces; but the example of the Merton College Research Fellowship granted to Dr.

Elwin has not been followed by any Indian university, though the great firm of Tatas has subsidized the publication of some of Elwin's work.

The contribution of Indian learned societies to anthropology is still small. Neither in the section of his 1944 report to the Indian Government on scientific research in India, nor elsewhere in the report, did Professor A. V. Hill, Secretary of the Royal Society, mention anthropology. But the Indian Science Congress has a section for Anthropology and Archæology, and the recent annual presidential addresses, the papers read, and the resolutions passed have shown a growing appreciation of anthropology in Indian nation-building. There has been similar encouragement from the Indian National Institute of Sciences. That pioneer of learned societies in India, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, has maintained its interest in anthropology, and has joined with the National Institute of Sciences and some British anthropologists in pressing the claims of anthropology on funds available in India after the war for scientific research. It is good news that as a result the Government of India has included in its post-war plans the creation of an Anthropological Survey ; this should be given a high priority, for tribal cultures are changing very fast. Mention should also be made of the Bombay Anthropological Society and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. But the body that should be the Indian equivalent of the Royal Anthropological Institute, namely the Indian Anthropological Institute, has still to get into its stride, and emerge from the various difficulties that have bogged it since its inauguration a few years ago. Its distinguished secretary, Dr. B. S. Guha, is now working hard to overcome these, and to raise funds to set the Institute on a sound financial basis. It has still to plan its work : Dr. Guha sees as its first task consideration of the aboriginal problem, and vigorous execution of a plan of research. The enormous distances of India always militate against the success of such a society if it works only on an all-India basis, with one meeting a year, since for effective work frequent meetings of active branches in States and Provinces seem necessary. I hope that the Indian Institute will not look in vain to the Royal Anthropological Institute for help and encouragement. Incidentally, the last available printed list of Fellows of the Royal Institute shows us to be very short of Fellows of Indian race, domicile or connections ; they numbered only 34, compared with 89 with African experience.¹

1. Of these, Fellows still in India and Africa were 22 and 77 respectively.

Knowing what the application of anthropology to the problems of African and other dependencies has meant, we can be certain that further attempts to rehabilitate or better the lot of the Indian aboriginal cannot succeed (to use the words of Lord Hailey about the colonial empire in our Centenary Meeting) without a far more intensive study of tribal institutions through the special technique of the anthropologist. It is therefore good to see the growing value and official and political appreciation of Indian anthropological opinion.

As a result of the various provincial and State reports, of the numerous recently published anthropological studies of tribes, of the stimulation of public opinion by the exclusion controversy and by the emergence, unfortunately only in Bihar, of aboriginal political leaders who have combined with missionaries and others into aboriginal preservation societies as pressure-groups of growing significance, the governments, politicians, voters and officials in India now have before them a mass of data, and can slowly evolve a more purposeful type of administration for the backward peoples. There is also, I believe, some idea of supplementing provincial efforts by the creation of an all-India tribal welfare bureau or adviser, a welcome step. But this will still be far from adequate : administrators will still have before them no general directive, no declared aims. Moreover once again India's constitution is in the melting-pot, and Indians are to mould their own future constitutions. The days of Britain as the protecting power are doomed : Indians themselves must do the protecting, and regard it as a debt of honour to end the aboriginal problem by pursuing a defined policy. But what mention has there been of the aborigines in recent constitutional discussions ? There is a real danger of the repeal in the new constitution of the safeguards devised for the aborigines in the 1935 constitution, and of the whole question sinking back into the obscurity of *laissez faire*. In most of India aboriginal pressure-groups are still unthinkable, for there has been no political education of the aboriginal. Political democracy, working through legislatures and local bodies created by direct election, is almost meaningless to him ; hardly anyone has dreamt of 'economic democracy' and training for a democratic way of life, for instance through aboriginal co-operatives.

Our immediate objectives should therefore, I think, be threefold : (a) to keep Indian thought increasingly aware of

the aboriginal problem as its own 'colonial' problem and 'on its honour' to solve it ; (b) to take stock of the economic, cultural, political, administrative and anthropological material and gauge what further enquiry is needed ; and (c) to attempt to define for the new governments in India the aims to be pursued in their treatment of the tribes.

I believe that for the attainment of these objectives the step that should be taken now is the appointment of an Indian Royal Commission. I stress the word Indian, because it is essential that it should not start on its work hampered by the prejudice that might be aroused by a Commission appointed by the Home Government. There are various precedents for Royal Commissions appointed by Dominions Governments. Such a Commission set up by His Majesty on the advice of his Indian Government might have distinct political advantages. Most of the members should be Indians, and the Chairman an Indian, preferably an administrator, not necessarily from British India. Politicians, anthropologists, and civil servants, including members of the technical services, should be drawn upon. The anthropologists should include two or three British or foreign anthropologists, and they should tap non-Indian experience not only of India's tribes, but also of similar tribes elsewhere and of attempted solutions of their problems.

Officials and politicians sometimes criticize special measures for aborigines, saying that it is unfair and inadequate to single out the primitive tribes for special treatment, when there are other backward communities. There are various answers to this. First, the primitive tribes are the most backward and worst exploited communities in India, and the least adapted to the impact of modern conditions. Secondly, they have their own distinct culture, languages, social organization and traditions, which does not apply to the Untouchables and other backward castes and regions. Thirdly, all other communities are politically far less backward than these tribes, the Untouchables in particular having strong political representation in the legislatures and a growing sense of their political power. Fourthly, for no other section of the population has so little been achieved by Governments, or by social and political workers. Finally even in the partially excluded areas there are Untouchables and backward Hindu peasant classes living among or near the tribal majority, while in the other areas the aborigines are always in close symbiosis with non-aboriginals ; therefore

it will be impossible to confine the working of betterment measures to the aborigines or to the partially excluded areas. There is a vast work to be done for the betterment of all Indian villagers ; measures that succeed for the tribes will have proved their practicability and are likely to work even more rapidly when extended to their neighbours.

One would like to include among the Commission's terms of reference specific examination of Russian policy and achievement among the backward races of European and Asiatic Russia. We need an independent, scientific, and dispassionate verdict on the results and their applicability to tribal India, indeed to all rural India. Those who criticize British colonial methods almost always take, at their face value, and as a stick with which to beat our own methods, the laudatory accounts trumpeted abroad by Russians themselves. When will foreign anthropologists be free themselves to do untrammeled field-work throughout the U.S.S.R.?

It would be remiss to end this paper without attempting a personal view of some of the aims that should form part of the new policy needed for the primitive tribes in India. The chapter headings of Elwin's essay, *Loss of Nerve*, give a summary of the causes of that loss of nerve among the aborigines, with which there is little to disagree, save, perhaps, in emphasis. Those headings are : loss of land ; loss of forest freedom and of the ritual hunt ; the suppression of the home distillery ; nervous and moral exhaustion from conflict with the law ; an unregulated system of education ; general economic impoverishment ; collapse of tribal industries; frustration of the creative impulse ; and the effect of external contracts on tribal religion.

* As to 'forest freedom', while agreeing that the controls imposed by the need to safeguard these national assets have had an adverse effect on aboriginal contentment, I cannot feel that this effect was inevitable. Things would have been different had the aboriginal himself been encouraged to understand reasons for conservancy, to take pride in the maintenance of the forests, and to share on a co-operative basis in their exploitation. *Loss of Nerve* did not, I think, sufficiently emphasize the almost complete absence from the aboriginal mind of that intelligent participation in affairs and controls without which there can be no political or economic democracy. Above all, there must be an approach

to some elements of 'economic democracy' if the aboriginal is to play his due part in the India of the future. The Russians consider that political democracy is only attainable as a function or consequence of economic democracy, defined by Engels as 'the organization of production on the basis of free and equal association of the producers'; and the imaginary Russian critic who tours Africa in *Soviet Light on the Colonies* comments¹ that this control of production by the workers involves as a prerequisite the social ownership of productive property and as a consequence their control of all the daily conditions of life. Once the workers acquire economic democracy, he adds, it is prized by them as highly as life itself, or indeed more highly, since it enables them to modify and develop life in ways which they think desirable.

Of the possible truth of this theory in regard to Indian aborigines, we have some indication in a comparison of systems of exploitation of forests by the Forest Department. There is a great contrast in aboriginal happiness and prosperity between the areas where the department auctions coupes to contractors, practically none of whom are aborigines, and those where aboriginal axe-men and cart-men have direct dealings with the Department. Honesty among forest contractors is the exception rather than the rule; but immediately a forest block is opened to direct departmental working *without* contractors, the tribesmen flock to it, villages rapidly expand, and all conditions and standards of living improve. Another striking example comes from the forest areas peopled by Hill Reddi and Koya in the south-east corner of Hyderabad, close to the great Godavari gorge. There, thanks largely to inadequate administrative supervision and a venal set of forest subordinates, rapacious Madrasi contractors had bound the aboriginal forest labourers in appalling thraldom and, working in a close ring, were securing valuable forest coupes at nominal bids in rigged auctions.* They were actually selling to each other the exclusive right to the labour of individual villages, and enforcing the right, whenever a labourer rebelled or tried to work for another contractor, by terrorism, which did not stop short of murder.

These conditions were exposed by Fürer-Haimendorf. Since then a striking change has occurred. Many contractors were black-listed by the Government. A Hindu Swami, who had settled in the area to help the tribes, organized them

into an informal forest co-operative, which has successfully operated many forest contracts on bids infinitely higher than those paid by any Madrasi contractor, to the gain of Government and tribesmen alike. In such areas forest co-operatives may do more than agricultural co-operatives or collective farms by teaching tribesmen to handle all branches of trade in forest produce, whence it would be a logical step for them to learn to control forest growth, and forestry in all its aspects. These co-operatives, moreover, could combine with the extraction and sale of forest produce the purchase and distribution of all the consumer goods needed by the tribesmen, who are fleeced by the bazaar merchants and hawkers who now supply them.

Take again the poor, decadent cultivation of the tribal peasantry. Ignorant though they are of modern agriculture, and seldom reached by Government agricultural propagandist, yet the main causes of the present conditions are loss of land, combined with growth of population. The steady and heavy loss of land of which the aboriginal is everywhere a victim, save where transfer is effectively prohibited, has been accompanied by a heavy increase of population and the consequent impoverishment of poor mountain soils through decrease in the size of holdings. As a result it has been impossible to let a third of the soil remain fallow once in three years, according to the rotation system which formerly kept it productive, for instance, among the Gond. Before forest reserves were demarcated the Gond were also free, if a clearing was exhausted, to break up fresh land from waste ; there was then, moreover, little restriction on *bewar* (*jhum*) cultivation, which is now usually prohibited, or confined to such small areas that the frequent burnings necessitated cannot leave time for the forest growth sufficiently to recover between one burning and the next.

This curtailment of opportunity came with a gradual shift from transactions in kind to a cash economy. The change is still incomplete in Gondwana, even if it has gone further than in the Assam Hills.¹ The tribesmen must now find cash to pay rents and fines for breaches of forest, excise and other laws and to bribe petty officials, as well as to buy consumer goods and necessities, and to pay bride-price. Above all, as a consequence of these new changes, he has to pay fantastic interest on cash loans taken from alien money-

1. See Hutton, *loc. cit.*

lenders. Before the war, slumps in agricultural prices disastrously accelerated the loss of land ; fear of the courts of law kept aborigines from debt conciliation boards or relief courts ; and their ignorance meant that they could not understand or profit by new Acts passed to curb money-lenders. The real loss of land was greater than figures of registered transfers show, for many tenants who nominally retained their lands and had not sunk as low as landless labourers or debt-bondsmen had actually become share-croppers. In fact for long the aboriginal peasants of the highlands have had to supplement the inadequate returns of their own fields by seasonal migrations, in hundreds, to the rich plains, whether for picking or ginning cotton in the Marathi districts or for reaping wheat in the Narbada Valley. This same need of cash leads to tribal migrations, at the call of labour recruiters, to the tea-gardens of Assam, or to nearer mines and factories ; even in the Maria country you will find the village elders deputing, turn by turn, parties of youths to descend to work in the Forest Department's saw-mills at Allapilli, or as bazaar coolies in the Godavari districts of Madras.

Where, therefore, soil surveys show that agriculture can be made to pay, clearly we must get away from these tiny individual holdings. Often where the soils will not repay the growth of cereals, a better use would be for stock-raising. With this could go the co-operative collection and marketing of such things as *mahua* flowers and seeds, myrabolams and other products of the forests outside the Government reserves ; and there could be co-operative organizations, as we have seen, for exploiting and transporting the produce of those reserves. It is claimed that collectivization of Russian farms merged twenty million holdings into a quarter of a million collective farms, the labour released thus and by the subsequent mechanization of farming migrating to towns to man the new factories. In many tribal areas of India the land is still regarded as the joint possession of the tribe, the clan or the village, and the co-operation of neighbours in each other's economic and social tasks is still a traditional practice ; they should therefore be a promising field for co-operative rather than collective farms, and the management of these co-operatives would do much to teach the tribesmen the rudiments of economic self-government.

The tribal tendency to migrate to mines and factories was accentuated by war-time calls for labour for building roads, factories, camps and aerodromes and for increasing mineral

production, though the great rise in agricultural prices, which made farming pay, proved a counter-attraction back to the land. The land is always more congenial to the aboriginal, who remains at heart a peasant or a forester, so that his industrial labour is seasonal only, unless steps are taken to treat and train him properly and so turn him into an intelligent self-respecting technician, adequately housed and remunerated. The new industries to be created now in India demand a decent, permanent labour force, and it must be made impossible for employers to defeat combinations of labour by freely using seasonal relays of needy, ignorant and underpaid aboriginal factory and mine 'fodder.' Often the raw materials of industry—coal, iron, manganese, limestone, forests, waterpower—are found in or near aboriginal tracts; too often employers regard cheap aboriginal labour, which does not bother about living or housing conditions, as but another raw material. Factories spring up near the minerals partly for the same reason; even Government officers speak of aborigines as fit only for hewing wood or drawing water, or as grist for the mill of big industry.

Jamshedpur and other industrial cities are set down among forests and their aboriginal denizens. Against the dark Kaimur Hills sulphurous smoke rises from great kilns fed with limestone by grimy chains of Gond, Kol and Baiga women passing loaded baskets from hand to hand up the steps leading to the mouths of the kilns, while below in the quarries their men-folk gang together to quarry the limestone. Their "camps" are often mere leaf shelters, without sanitation or amenities. Little indeed is done to evoke the intelligent, trained interest and loyalty of the tribal worker. Even when a Kol displays his tribe's natural aptitude for machinery he may get more pay; but back he goes, his day's work done, to the same dog-kennel of a hovel as his fellow-tribesmen who are casual labourers. If it be hopelessly early to dream of aboriginal trade unionists participating in the control of industry, at least let India insist on adequate house, education and recreation facilities for the aborigines, and on planned measures for converting them from seasonal black-legs into permanent self-respecting labourers. This will become even more necessary as industrialization proceeds, especially if rural planning involves a planned transfer of labour from farm to factory.

Finally, political democracy is completely lacking in the tribal areas, where there is no intelligent tribal participation

in central or provincial legislatures, district councils or local boards. The tribal voter does not feel that any of these are his, or realize that his votes have created them, even if, for mysterious reasons, he has been propelled by Government subordinates or emissaries of politicians and parties to a queer polling booth, in an atmosphere redolent of the dreaded courts and towns. Leonard Barnes' imaginary Russian well says :

"The democratic social process involves the continuous re-building of society in the interests of the unprivileged and of their widening freedom and responsibility. Moreover in any kind of democratic organisation, every person who has to carry out a scheme of work on orders from above must also have taken part in formulating it as a project from below. That is the test of democracy."¹

Judged by that test, the aboriginal, whether nominally enfranchised or not, has not started on the road to democracy. I have already quoted Elwin's scornful account of how the tribal voter voted in 1937, and there is a detailed criticism of political institutions in tribal areas in the chapter on political education in my Central Provinces Report.² Now I have never appreciated the Franchise Committee's reasons for rejecting the indirect vote in Indian elections : it still seems to me, at least in tribal areas, the only practicable way of teaching new and ignorant voters the meaning of voting. At present, in the so-called "direct" elections, barely one voter in fifty is directly aware of the identity of those who seek his votes, or understands anything of the issues at stake, or of the electoral process in which he plays so pathetic a part.

I advocate accordingly the formation, where the old tribal or village social *panchayat* have lost their influence, of regional *panchayat* for groups of villages, to be formed by a process developing gradually from choice in village meetings, presided over by officials charged with the duty of training the villagers in selecting their representatives, into formal election. Where the tribal *panchayat* still are effective indigenous institutions, on the other hand, they would be recognized and given restored and strengthened authority. The members of both the old and the new *panchayat* would then be the only voters for elections to district councils and legislatures. We should thus ensure a real upward stream of

1. *Soviet Light on the Colonies*, p. 232.

2. *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Nagpur : 1944, pp. 371-395.

power from primary voters, through *panchayat* members, known to and representative of them, to local bodies and legislatures. A further advantage would be that the members of these higher bodies would have a smaller and more intelligent body of electors to canvass and keep touch with. The group *panchayat* would gradually acquire powers and responsibilities similar to those of a Russian village soviet ; it would be a primary organ of government ; within its area it would see to the carrying out of instructions from higher government and local authorities ; it could, if it desired, set up village or group courts for petty offences and civil disputes ; it might ultimately have some control over farming and forest co-operatives.

From another point of view, this would be a form of indirect rule for the tribal areas, free from some of the risks of rule through hereditary chiefs, and utilising that feature of collective responsibility of which Professor Hutton spoke in his presidential address as so strong among the Assam tribes, and to which I referred above when I mentioned the survival among other tribes of India of a practice whereby neighbours co-operate in each other's economic and social tasks.

This paper has deliberately emphasized the economic and political side of the problem rather than the cultural. I do not undervalue the useful and beautiful elements in tribal language and culture ; on the contrary, I regard their preservation as essential, and elsewhere have advocated the basing upon them of education in tribal areas. But I have been trying to outline a practical policy, likely to command Indian support, for accelerating for the benefit of India the mobilization of the hitherto almost hidden potentialities which all who have learnt to love the aboriginal know him to possess. Teach him to hold his head high in economic and political matters, and he will of his own accord re-assert his cultural autonomy. *Primum vivere, et deinde philosophare !*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES OF HYDERABAD.

This chapter starts with only a few very randomised and brief extracts from tour notes, but ends with a *verbatim* reproduction of the speech which I made on April 3rd 1947 in the new Hyderabad Legislative Assembly replying as Leader of the House on behalf of the Government to a non-official resolution urging the creation of a Depressed Classes Welfare Fund of a crore of rupees. This speech summarises both my own impressions of seven years' visits to the Dher and Mang quarters of the towns and villages of the State, and Government's past and future policy in regard to the Depressed Classes. Far too little has in fact been done for these victims of the social system, but here, as in the rest of India, the Depressed Classes, at least in the towns, are politically far wider awake than the aborigines. In the villages, especially of the Telengana districts, their conditions are, however, often appalling, and even stronger language than that in my speech could hardly have been an exaggeration if used to describe the lot of the Mala and the Madaga under many a Hindu *patel* or landlord. We must hope that the coming Royal Commission on the Depressed Classes of Hyderabad will really result in a new charter of life and liberties for them. For otherwise they will inevitably turn to the Communist agitator, as they have already turned in Nalgonda and parts of other districts.

(a) *Nizamabad Tour, July 1938.*

At Kalladi, an "uplift" village, the Town-planning Architect has recently approved the layout of the village extension. The new houses are a great improvement; nine first class and the three second class houses have been completed, and the foundations of several others have been laid An excellent house has been built by a village carpenter, and a good second class house by a Mahar weaver who, like many Mahar and Julahi of this neighbourhood, regularly migrates to Bombay to work in the cotton mills for a few months each year, living there with his wife and family in a small room in a chawl at a monthly rent of Rs. 5, but return-

ing with accumulated savings of about half his wages. It is not surprising that there is such a keen demand for education in villages so open to outside influences. The Rural Reconstruction Society is only three months old, but already includes among its members 230 out of the 347 householders. The committee of twelve includes, besides the *patel*, who is a Brahmin, and representatives of the better cultivating castes, three Depressed Classes members, a Mochi, a Mang and a Madaga.

(b) *Parbhani Tour, February 1939.*

Sailu Town.—One of the first things that one sees on leaving the railway station is the disgracefully congested Hamal-pura or railway coolies' lines, two rows of insanitary huts on Government land. Not much better are the *hamal* lines that have been allowed to be built in the Ghamaria and other factory compounds. It is questionable whether it was legal for the factory owners to divert factory land for housing purposes, but if they do so the special *dhara* or assessment on the land should be enhanced. There has been no effort to define any industrial area or to allocate sites for a proper labour colony. The Hamalpura site must be tidied up by Local Funds, and the Town-planning Officer at his visit must prepare a proper lay-out for the site. Here, as elsewhere, comes in to some extent the responsibility of the Railway for proper housing of its *hamal* employees. Further land for a labour colony might perhaps be found on the other side of the railway ; it is almost impossible to find decent sites in and around the town except for the *inam* land along the old Jintur road where an unsatisfactory cinema theatre has been built.

It would not be so bad if the water of the Lendi *Nala* had a free flow. But just beyond the S.E. corner of the town it is joined by the Khandoba *Nala*, which takes the drainage of the area west of the new Mantha-Jintur road. In heavy rains the flood of the Khandoba *Nala* holds back the water in the Lendi *Nala*, and so the whole of the so-called street from the Gujri Bazaar to the Khatib *Mohalla* becomes a flooded river ; the flood is sometimes four and a half feet deep above the centre of the street and enters the houses on both sides. It is quite impracticable to divert this *nala*, and the only hope therefore is to canalize it in the centre of the street and provide raised and paved cart-tracks on each side of the channel.

..... Where the Khandoba *Nala* approaches its junction with the Lendi *Nala* it is peculiarly foul and is used as a dumping ground for dead cattle and cats. Here comes the foul Mangwara, of the housing conditions in which the less said the better. The Mangs' only well is little better than a cess-pool and has no drain to take waste water into the Khandoba *Nala*. I ordered the necessary drain to be built at once ; but as soon as possible all the wells along the Lendi *Nala* should be closed, as the water in them is mere sewage. Another nuisance to be stopped is the excavation of pits for brick-making in the fields close to the Mangwara and at other spots near the junction of the Khandoba and Lendi *Nalas*.

The toddy and liquor shops are in the heart of the town and close to the weekly market. I found them full of men, women and children, despite all the orders prohibiting the admission of children. The excise staff must begin to discharge their duty of enforcing these rules. The shops must be removed to some place well outside the town, as at Raichur.

(c) *Mahbubnagar Tours.*

(i) *September 1939.*

The Dherwara and other low caste parts of Makthal town were especially visited. They are in a disgracefully dirty condition. All asked for repairs to their wells, which are clearly needed. Much work can be found in these quarters by some attempt to put the village roads and side alleys into decent repair and by spreading murram on them. So far this work has been done only in the better parts of the village.

(ii) *February 1943.*

At Shrirangapur itself the temple authorities appeared to be ultra-orthodox in that no one except a caste-Hindu is allowed to set his foot inside the temple. It might be suggested to the Rani Sahiba of Wanparti that modern times demand a more progressive attitude.

(d) *Warangal Tour September 1942.*

Shujatnagar¹ has in rented buildings a Government primary school and a Government girls' school. The primary

1. A village near Kothagudem Collieries and Singhabupalam Tank;

school has not a single untouchable pupil, and the headmaster and some of the village officials said that if untouchables came, the caste Hindus would object strongly to sending their boys to the school. This reactionary attitude must be severely snubbed ; amenities provided out of public revenues must be for all without distinction of caste or creed. One way of achieving this here would be to build the school building that will ultimately have to be provided in the new site near the Chinnakeshwar Swami temple where the majority of the villagers will be Mala and Madaga.

(e) *Nander Tour, September 1943.*

The Mangwara at Madhol was visited. Mang here are a small community, but are not living in bad conditions, except that they are prevented by caste prejudice from using the Local Fund well immediately adjoining their quarter, because one house close to it is occupied by a Banjara and he and some Kunbis who live further away try to monopolise the well. We may not yet in Hyderabad have arrived at the stage where, as in the Central Provinces and Berar, legislation can be enacted to provide that it is an offence to deny members of any caste or community access to wells and other public amenities constructed out of public funds ; but it is definitely important that Municipal and Town Committees and District Boards should provide adequate drinking water facilities for all communities in their areas. In this particular town it would seem as though the well must have originally been constructed for the Mang community, but, being denied its use, they have to walk 400 or 500 yards down a muddy lane to a small open *kunta* fed by the drainage of the streets, and in the hot weather they have to dig water-holes in the bed of this *kunta*. Even a regard for their own lives should lead high-caste members of local bodies to realise the danger of leaving only contaminated water to Dher and Mang, as any consequential disease may easily spread its infection to other communities in the town.

(f) *Conditions of labour camps in Public Works Department projects.¹*

Can we not also learn to be ashamed of the conditions under which our constructional labour lives, moves and has its being when our great engineering and building works are in

^{1.} Extract from inaugural address delivered at the 25th Session of the Chartered Institution of Engineers, India, at Hyderabad in January 1945.

progress ? Here in the Deccan look at the foul conditions of life of our great and skilled navy caste, the Waddar, whose labour through long centuries has built every tank or anicut, probably every fort and every road or railway in southern India—miserable temporary hovels, lack of medical attention, no schools, no recreation, only a generous supply of the food needed to maintain their physique and keep them fit to quarry and shift earth and stone. You will find even worse conditions in the camps of some mining or quarrying centres, for example in the lime-stone areas between Katni and Kymore.¹ Why do we not insist on sanitary labour camps and temporary schools and, better still, on technical training for the younger generation ? Waddar can advance : only last week I found in the growing town of Bodhan a matriculate Waddar who is already a pioneer in the betterment of his fellow-Waddar, and whom we are nominating as labour representative on the local Municipal Committee.

(g) *Speech delivered as Leader of the House in the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly on April 3rd 1947 replying on behalf of Government to a non-official resolution advocating the creation of a Depressed Classes Welfare Fund of Rs. 20 lakhs (The resolution was finally passed and raised the figure to Rs. 1 crore).*

With the object underlying the resolution everyone in the Government Benches, and I believe everyone in the whole House has full sympathy, that is, with the idea of doing everything possible to raise the conditions of living and the removal of the stigmas that make life intolerable for the 2,928,040 members of the Depressed Classes in this State. I repeat the figure 2,928,040 ; that was the figure returned in the 1941 Census. We might now, allowing for subsequent increase, take the Depressed Classes to number three millions. They are thus numerically the second strongest community in the Dominions.

Every foreigner who has come to India for the last 300 years has been appalled by the various disabilities attaching to the Depressed Classes, although in many places, as some one pointed out in the first day's debate, they are probably the original inhabitants of the country. They suffer from varying degrees of "untouchability" and, in parts of Madras, even from "unseeability." Apart from the way in which they have been looked down upon by those higher than

1. In the Jubbulpore district of the Central Provinces,

themselves in the social scale, they have unfortunately various degrees of mutual untouchability amongst themselves. That friend and public worker of this State, the late Captain Munn, O.B.E., pointed out that the caste rules among the lowest strata of Indian society were often far stricter than among the higher educated castes. To use his words, "The Begari will not go to a well from which a Dher draws his water, nor a Dher to a Mang's well ; nor will a Mang drink from a Chamar's well." I am instancing this merely to show what a problem the whole thing is, not to blame the Depressed Classes, who in this respect have merely copied the bad prejudices of higher castes.

Apart from their social and religious disabilities, think of their housing problem. Wherever you go in the State, whether it be in Telengana or Marathwara or the Karnatak, in every village and every town there are one or two ghettos, namely the Dherwara, the Mangwara, and so on. The houses are poor, the water facilities, save where they have been recently improved by Government or municipal effort, shockingly bad. I can think of one town in Marathwara, Sailu, where the only water available for a Depressed Class *mohalla* was taken from holes scooped in a *nala* into which drained all the filth of all the streets in the town. Quite often there is no well supply, and the Depressed Classes have to depend upon water from village tanks, but even then are expected to take water from below the tank sluices in which the caste Hindus have washed their bodies and their clothes.

Times are changing in many parts of the State : there are Mahar who have returned with their savings from work in the towns, in the cotton mills and factories of Bombay, and the new industrial centres in this State. You may see in villages in Nizamabad and other districts colonies springing up where there are good double-storied houses with other facilities built by Mahar who have come back to their native countryside after seeing better conditions of life elsewhere.

There is a growing demand amongst them for education, and it is quite common to see in the Dherwara of a small town a school that has been started by the Depressed Classes for themselves. Sometimes they have achieved recognition and grants-in-aid from Government. I saw a school of this nature recently in the Dherwara of the small town of Murram in Osmanabad District. They demand education, they

demand relief from *begar*, they demand access to all things built and financed out of public funds, whether it be schools, wells, tanks, *sarais* or other institutions. This demand is simple justice.

The awakening amongst the Depressed Classes in the towns is very marked, but they still have a long way to go ; even in Secunderabad I know of cases of educated members of the Depressed Classes finding it hard in the face of social boycott to get land to build or a house to live in a good locality. I think of the story of Dr. Ambedkar returning from education in Europe, a Barrister-at-law, a Doctor of Philosophy, finding the only home available for him, owing to caste prejudice, one room in a chawl.

Separate Depressed Class schools too are unfortunately still a necessity in many places, though it should be insisted upon that the Mahar or the Mang, as a citizen who pays his taxes, has a right to send his sons to any school, wherever it may be in his town or village. But facts are facts, and too often it still happens that the Dherwara has to have its own school because of caste prejudice.

If this is the case in the towns, in villages the awakening has been even slower. The Dherwaras and Mangwaras to which I have referred are too frequently a disgrace to humanity, with their wretched teeming huts and their only water-supply from bad wells close to cess-pools. But worst of all, in many villages of Telengana the lot of the Mala and Madaga is one not far removed from slavery or at best serfdom, a serfdom economic and social, implied not only by the yetti and degenerated *baluta* system, but also by the entire traditional attitude of the higher caste village Hindus. I make a practice when going on tour into villages of trying to take with me on foot through the Dherwara and Mangwara the village elders, whether the members of the Village Panchayat or the Town Committee, or elsewhere the village officers, the *patel* and the *patwari*, to see for themselves how the Dher and the Mang are expected to live or drag out their existence.

Recent events in Nalgonda District, which it is easy to attribute merely to Communist designs and intrigues, would have been impossible, had there been a greater measure of justice meted out by the *watandar* classes, above all to the lowest caste and outcaste villagers. I had the recent privilege of touring through Nalgonda in attendance on His Highness

the Heir-Apparent. There the villages teem with the dark unhappy faces of innumerable Mala and Madaga, who have for centuries been the virtual serfs of the *deshmukhs* and the *watandars*, a prey to age-long illegal taxation, forced labour, arrogation by landlords of the right to decide for whom they should work, and forcible repression of any kind of self-assertion. You can see in their crowded ranks depths of physical unfitness, cretinism, albinism, all forms of disease. Yet these poor mortals turned out in their thousands to have their *darshan* of their future Ruler, to cheer and rain flowers on him. To them in his clear ringing voice he gave a message of hope, when he said that *yetti* and *begar* must cease once and for all. Hardly anyone can be absolved from the charge of taking *yetti* labour, whether *deshmukh*, *watandar*, landlord or Government officer ; frequently however the smaller touring officials have had at least the partial excuses of having to discharge their touring duties and to get their baggage and Government documents and property moved from place to place, though allowed too little travelling allowance to pay for their carriers.

But the misery of the Depressed Classes under all these evils has been almost unendurable. If in their unhappiness they have wanted the consolation of religion—well, they have found the doors of the Hindu temples closed to them, because of the theory that their entry would pollute the precincts.

Yet now at last there is everywhere a stirring, even in the darkest Mangwara ; there is a growing demand for education and a growing feeling of self-respect, especially amongst the Mahars of Marathwara. The Depressed Classes are starting their own schools with or without Government grants. They are asking for such things as the removal of liquor shops, to free them from the curse of drink, though drink has been the only thing that has brought them temporary alleviation of their misery. They have ideas of temple entry. They demand better housing and labour conditions, better wells, their own lands, even their own villages, but above all freedom from the local oppressor.

Now I come to the resolution before this House. In its original form it asked for a separate fund of Rs. 20 lakhs, which would bring in a revenue of at the most Rs. 60,000 a year ; even if one crore were allotted as capital, that would only yield a revenue of some Rs. 3 lakhs. Government are already spending far more than this on the Depressed Classes.

Take for example education : the Rs. 55,000 recurring grant for depressed class education in the 1352 budget has been raised gradually till it now stands at Rs. 7,80,000, that is to say an annual expenditure which would represent a capital of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. This money was spent in 1355 on 186 special depressed class schools, on scholarships in general schools, on grants-in-aid to eight hostels for depressed class pupils and on a special post of Inspector of Depressed Class Schools ; I would mention that the Inspector is himself a member of the depressed classes. In 1355 Fasli there were 8,764 depressed class boys in these special schools, and another 7,500 in the general schools. The Education Department has already formed an Advisory Committee for this purpose. But literacy is appallingly backward among these classes. According to the 1941 Census, out of every 1,000 Brahmans in the State 876 were literate and out of every 1,000 Muslims 197 ; in contrast, out of every 10,000 depressed classes only 10 were literate and out of every 10,000 aborigines only 7. The average literacy for the whole State is 93 per 1,000 and for the whole of India 122. An enormous leeway has to be made up. The scholarships which are granted are utterly inadequate in number. But primary education is free for every child to-day in this State ; the pupils from the depressed classes have further been exempted from tuition fees in the middle and high schools.

The answers to several of the unstarred questions which have been printed and distributed to the members of this House show certain further steps taken by Government in regard to matters which are dear to the hearts of our depressed classes colleagues in this House. I would mention as examples the experimental Dher villages in Nalgonda District near Devarkonda costing Rs. 50,000 and under the Dindi project costing Rs. 23,000, and the general scheme (costing Rs. 63,000 a year) for the uplift of all the villages of the Amrabad plateau, which will benefit a large depressed classes population.

Government intend to embark on a steady policy of raising the standard of living and improving the conditions of life, not only of the aborigines and depressed classes, but of all economically and socially backward subjects of His Exalted Highness whatever their race or creed : for besides the tribes and the depressed classes there is in every village a large Shudra population economically nearly as backward as the Dher and the Mang, the Mala and the Madaga, even though

not subject to the social stigma of untouchability. But Government desire to proceed cautiously, after initial careful investigation followed by experimental schemes, in fact by trial and error. We began with controlled experiments among the most backward of all our fellow-subjects, the aborigines, such as the Gond of Adilabad, the Koya and Hill Reddi of Warangal, the Chenchu of Mahbubnagar. But the lessons derived from these initial investigations and experiments have a wider application than to the aborigines only, though how valuable they have been can be realised by anyone touring among the now smiling and friendly Gond of Utnur and Asifabad where only five years ago an incipient rising had to be stopped by the muskets of the armed police. In the light of those lessons, in the same spirit of helping the weak, Government now intend gradually to work out schemes for the rehabilitation of all backward communities in the State ; for example we have recently formulated a plan for helping the backward Multani Muslims of certain villages in Adilabad District.

Recently moreover Government inaugurated a Social Service Scheme, with the object of having anthropologically-minded officers in every district trained to go into the villages and ascertain the difficulties and needs, social, economical and political, of all classes and sections of society by scientific and humane enquiry. It is then intended to formulate local improvement schemes on the basis of their work and enquiries. The main handicap in implementing this scheme will of course be at first the lack of trained personnel ; nevertheless as a beginning Government have sanctioned for this scheme a recurring expenditure of Rs. $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakh.

At present the total Government expenditure on backward tribes, depressed classes, and Multanis is nearly Rs. 10 lakhs, equivalent to the interest on a fund of about Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Government intend to increase this expenditure steadily, and we have in fact already agreed to spend a further forty lakhs of rupees in the next five years on betterment schemes for all backward classes, of which the lion's share will come to the depressed classes. They therefore have already accepted the principle of an increasing annual provision for such work in the budget ; they would even agree that such allotments should not lapse, and, if unspent, should be funded. But they cannot agree at once to lock up for an indefinite period a sum of a crore of rupees as the corpus of a Fund for this purpose. The interest on such a Fund would be inadequate, and the

psychological effect of starting it might be to set back progress by stereotyping the maximum expenditure at the total of the interest accruing on the Fund. I would suggest therefore that the House, instead of pressing the amended Resolution, should call for the progressive raising by Government of its annual expenditure on the Depressed Classes and the Backward Tribes and Classes according as ways and means may permit. After all, every individual subject of the State has his own potential value to the State and to society ; the problem before us all, before the legislature and the executive, before every enlightened voter, is how best to mobilize the potential value of the backward and under-civilized tribes and classes, how to ensure equality of opportunity for all and make it possible for the humblest born subject of His Exalted Highness to rise to a position where he can make a contribution of the highest value to the welfare and advancement of Hyderabad. Clearly this House and Government are at one in this object ; we differ only from our friends on the non-official benches in our view of the most practical way of providing the necessary funds.

Lastly I have an important announcement to make on behalf of Government. While they stress the need of a programme for helping *all* backward sections of the people, nevertheless they fully recognise that untouchability has introduced peculiar features into the depressed classes problem, resulting in *yetti*, in *begar*, in serfdom, in the general depressed conditions in which they live. Accordingly Government hope to recommend to His Exalted Highness in the near future the setting up of a Royal Commission to investigate all the conditions and disabilities under which the depressed classes suffer and to frame long-term plans accordingly. I cannot say who the members of the Cabinet will be when this Commission submits its report ; I myself shall not then be here. But whatever be the Ministry then in office, I am perfectly certain that funds will be found for implementing the Commissions' recommendations.

Thus this House will see that this Government have in view a definite programme of raising the standard of life of all the backward classes of these Dominions. There is a great human document to which all men can at all times look back, to refresh their hearts and revivify their dreams and hopes ; I refer to the Declaration of Independence of the American Republic, and the immortal words :—

All men are created equal ; they are endowed by their

Creator with certain inalienable rights ; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights Governments are instituted.

Let us apply the spirit of those words to this problem, to the human, inalienable rights of our brethren of the backward and depressed classes. Let us resolve that any Government which fails to secure these rights, should be condemned and swept away. That great statesman who so largely inspired the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, laboured all his life to remove the blot of negro slavery from the American nation, for he held of the negro slaves that commerce between master and slaves was despotism and that the slaves were born to be free. Our depressed classes and many of our forest and other tribes are economically and socially often little better than slaves, or, at best, than serfs. To all those teeming Dherwaras, those veritable ghettos that disfigure the Deccan and so much more of India, let this Legislature, this Government send a message of hope, "God does not love social or economic injustice;" let us remember also Jefferson's high faith that there is a superior bench reserved in heaven for those who hasten the end of slavery.

APPENDIX

THE TRIBAL AREAS DASTUR-UL-AMAL 1356 FASLI.

(Received the Assent of His Exalted Highness on 5th Jamadi I
1366 H. or 29th March 1947).

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the better administration of the tribal areas in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, it is hereby ordered as follows :—

1. (1) This Dastur-ul-Amal may be cited as the Tribal Areas Dastur-ul-Amal 1356 F.

(2) It shall come into force in such tribal areas and from such date as may, from time to time, be notified by the President-in-Council.

2. In this Dastur-ul-Amal, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(a) "Tribe" means Bhils, Chenchus, Gonds, Hill Reddis, Kolams, Koyas, Naikpods, Pardhans, Thotis and includes all subdivisions of these tribes and any other tribe that may, by notification in the Jarida, be declared by the President-in-Council to be an aboriginal tribe in any area for the purposes of this Dastur-ul-Amal;

(b) "Tribal" when used hereinafter as a noun shall mean a member of a tribe in a notified tribal area;

(c) "Agent" means the Taluqdar of a district containing a tribal area or any other person specially appointed by the President-in-Council as Special Agent for a tribal area;

(d) "Assistant Agent" means the Second Taluqdar of a division containing a tribal area or part of a tribal area, or any other person specially appointed by the President-in-Council to work as Special Assistant Agent for a tribal area or part thereof under the Agent;

- (e) "Notified" and "notification" mean notified and notification respectively in the Jarida;
- (f) "Prescribed" means prescribed by any rule, regulation, order or direction given in pursuance of this Dastur-ul-Amal;
- (g) All expressions defined in Section 2 of the Land Revenue Act No. VIII of 1317 F. and used in this Dastur-ul-Amal or in any Regulation or Rule made thereunder shall be deemed to have the meaning assigned to them in the said Section.

3. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for

Restriction of application of laws to notified tribal areas.

the time being in force, no Act of the Legislature or Regulation or Rule having the force of law shall apply to any notified tribal area unless the President-in-Council by public notification so directs, and the President-in-Council in giving such a direction with respect to any Act, Regulation or Rule may direct that such Act, Regulation or Rule shall, in its application to the notified tribal area or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit.

4. (1) The President-in-Council may, by notification,

Power to make rules and regulations.

make such rules and regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for securing the peace and good government of any notified tribal area.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the powers conferred by sub-section (1), the rules and regulations may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :—

- (a) barring the jurisdiction of courts of law or revenue authorities in any dispute relating to lands, houses or house-sites occupied, claimed, rented or possessed by any tribal or from which any tribal may have been evicted, whether by process of law or otherwise, during such period preceding the notification of such area as a tribal area as may be specified ;
- (b) the transfer of all suits or proceedings pending before any court of law or revenue authority for the eviction of any tribal from lands cultivated by him or house or house-site occupied by him in any notified tribal area to the concerned Agent without any further action, and

the manner in which the Agent shall deal with such suits or proceedings;

- (c) the cancellation of any decrees or orders passed by a court of law or revenue authority during such period preceding the enforcement of this Dastur-ul-Amal as may be specified, which adversely affect the rights of a tribal in any land or house or house site, and, if any such decree or order has already been executed, the procedure according to which the Agent shall restore the position which obtained before such execution;
- (d) the vesting in the Agent or any specified officer or officers subordinate to him of all civil and revenue jurisdiction in cases involving the rights of any tribal in any land, house or house-site situated in any notified tribal areas, the powers to be exercised by the Agent and Assistant Agent for this purpose (which may include the powers of any revenue or forest officer in revenue and forest matters and any court subordinate to the High Court in Civil matters), and the manner in which such powers shall be exercised, including summary procedure;
- (e) (i) authorising the Agent or Assistant Agent of a notified tribal area to try any criminal offence in which a tribal is involved as a party, not being an offence punishable with death or imprisonment for life or for a period extending to 10 years or above;
- (ii) barring legal practitioners from appearing in any such case without the permission of the trying Agent or Assistant Agent;

Provided that such permission shall always be granted when the application is to appear on behalf of a person accused of murder;

- (f) prohibiting *patta* right in any land being given to any non-tribal in any notified tribal area; authorising the Agent to cancel or revise any title in land granted to a non-tribal in any notified tribal area during a specified period the coming into force of this Dastur-ul-Amal, or to order exchange of lands by way of compensation or settlement; and empowering the

Agent to eject any person from any land or to place any person in possession of any land in accordance with his decision ;

- (g) the prohibition of sale of land at present cultivated by a tribal or in respect of which he claims that he has a right to hold it, in execution of any decree or order of any civil or revenue court, whether made before or after the coming into force of this Dastur-ul-Amal ; the cancellation of all sales not finally confirmed before the date of the enforcement of this Dastur-ul-Amal ; and the manner in which all such cases shall be disposed of by the Agent ;
- (h) authorising the Agent to recommend to Government in the Revenue Department, after consulting the Inspector-General of Forests, the revision or cancellation of any forest settlement or other notification of land made under the Forest Act if he considers this necessary, and to excise land without such reference if the area to be excised does not exceed a prescribed limit, and the Division Forest Officer agrees with him ;
- (i) authorising the Agent to dismiss summarily any official of any Government Department working in a notified tribal area and drawing such salary as may be prescribed, if he is satisfied that he has been guilty of abusing his position by ill-treating any person or making any illegal exactation in money or kind or demanding unlawful gratification in the exercise of his official duties ;
- (j) authorising the Agent to exterrn from a notified tribal area any non-tribal, if, for reasons to be recorded in writing, he is satisfied that his presence in such area is likely to be detrimental to the interests of the tribals ;
- (k) abolition of *patelki* and *patwarigiri watans* in any notified tribal area or replacement of non-tribal village officers by tribal village officers after paying such compensation to the former as the President-in-Council may deem reasonable ; and appointment of village officers in such areas on such remuneration and subject to such conditons as may be prescribed ;
- (l) control of money-lending in a notified tribal area by requiring money-lenders, contractors and

pedlars to obtain licences subject to such conditions as may be prescribed in the licence with regard to rate of interest, maintenance of accounts, giving of receipts and other matters which in the opinion of the President-in-Council are relevant to the profession of money-lending ; prohibiting money-lending in such area if he is satisfied that adequate provision has been made therein for rural credit by Government Co-operative Societies and other approved methods, and making such arrangement for compulsory settlement of previous debts owed to money-lenders as he may deem fit ;

- (m) formation of *panchayats* in any notified tribal area and entrusting to them or to any *panchayats* formed in such area under the Panchayats A' in such criminal and civil jurisdiction and such social duties as may be prescribed ; and
- (n) any other matters necessary for carrying into effect the purposes of this Dastur-ul-Amal.

(3) The rules and regulations made under sub-section (1) may further :

- (a) provide for the procedure to be followed in the disposal of cases under this Dastur-ul-Amal, inclusive of summary procedure in the trial of criminal offences ;
- (b) confer powers and impose duties upon any Government officer as respects any matter ;
- (c) provide for appeal, review, revision and transfer applications from decisions or orders passed under this Dastur-ul-Amal to such authorities as may from time to time be prescribed, or direct that no such application shall be allowed from any such decision or order or that such decision or order shall be final ; and
- (d) provide that any contravention of, or any attempt to contravene, and any abetment of, or attempt to abet, the contravention of any of the provisions of the rules or regulations or any order issued under any such provision shall be punishable with imprisonment for a specified term or with fine up to a specified amount or with both.

(4) The President-in-Council may by order direct that any power or duty which by rule or regulation under sub-section (1) is conferred or imposed upon the President-in-

Council shall, in such circumstances and under such conditions, if any, as may be specified in the direction, be exercised or discharged—

- (a) by any officer or authority subordinate to the President-in-Council, or
- (b) by any other authority.

5. Any rule or regulation made under Section 4 and any order made under such rule or regulation, Effect of rules, etc.,
inconsistent with
other enactments. shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any enactment other than this Dastur-ul-Amal or in any instrument having effect by virtue of any enactment other than this Dastur-ul-Amal.

6. (1) No order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Dastur-ul-Amal shall Savings as to orders. be called in question in any court.

(2) Where an order purports to have been made and signed by any authority in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Dastur-ul-Amal, a court shall, within the meaning of the Hyderabad Evidence Act 1313 F., presume that such order was so made by that authority. .

7. (1) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding Protection of ac-
tion taken under
the Dastar-ul-
Amal. shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Dastur-ul-Amal or any rules or regulations made thereunder.

(2) Save as otherwise expressly provided under this Dastur-ul-Amal, no suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Government for any damage caused or likely to be caused by anything done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Dastur-ul-Amal or any rules or regulations made thereunder.

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